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# *The* AMERICAN HISTORICAL REVIEW

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## Chinamen in Yankeedom: Anti-Unionism in Massachusetts in 1870

FREDERICK RUDOLPH\*

IN 1870 twenty per cent of the Chinamen in the United States located outside the states and territories of the Far West were living in the small Berkshire Hills town of North Adams, Massachusetts.<sup>1</sup> If Yankee ingenuity has been employed to explain American successes in peace and war, that happy phrase is no more than a tentative—and not very substantial—explanation of why a small New England town in 1870 was able to punctuate the decennial census statistics with so large a question mark. So great an aberration from an orderly pattern of Chinese population and immigration by necessity does raise a question. What were so many Chinamen doing in North Adams?

\*The author is instructor in history in Williams College.

<sup>1</sup>The United States Census of 1870 listed 63,199 Chinese as resident in the United States, of whom 62,831 were attributed to Washington, Oregon, California, Arizona, Colorado, Idaho, Montana, Nevada, New Mexico, Utah, and Wyoming. The 368 remaining Chinese were divided as follows: North Atlantic states, 137; South Atlantic states, 11; North Central States, 9; South Central States, 211. According to Mary Roberts Coolidge, *Chinese Immigration* (New York, 1909), these figures are somewhat conservative, although official. The twenty per cent figure for North Adams is based upon its 75 Chinese residents who were counted in the 1870 census.

Up to, but not including, 1870, the population of Massachusetts contained at no time more than fifty residents of Oriental origin. In 1870 the Oriental population of Massachusetts more than doubled, signaling factors in American life and in the community of North Adams of no less importance than these: the struggle for the first time of native skilled labor against the inroads of a machine-conscious factory system, the introduction of Chinese labor in the economy of the East as a means of combating unionism, and the forthright agitation by the largest labor union in the national experience as of 1870, for the first time on a significant scale, in behalf of the adoption of an eight-hour working day.

The New England mill town of North Adams in the late 1860's and early 1870's affords a basis from which to indicate that problems inherent in a factory system not only led to unionism and political actionism upon the part of workingmen but also to such expressions of economic democracy as factory co-operatives. North Adams in 1870, moreover, served as a laboratory of Eastern industrial discontent in which no Western safety-valve of frontier opportunity and free land was employed to lessen the shock, unless it be maintained that in this instance the safety-valve worked in reverse. For the use of Chinese cheap labor on the mining frontier, in the conquest of the frontier by the railroad companies, and in all the Far Western areas of the last frontier of 1870 was a prerequisite to its use in North Adams in 1870. This may well be the safety-valve in reverse, but if it is, the reversal is complete. There was nothing democratic about either the Western demonstration or the Eastern experiment in the use of Chinese labor.

The story of labor unrest in North Adams in 1870 is an episode, but it fails neither of drama nor of historical significance. In Calvin T. Sampson, a self-made factory owner who "began life as a farmer at eighteen with only his father's debts as a legacy";<sup>2</sup> in his ten-year-old factory, already producing more than 300,000 pairs of shoes a year;<sup>3</sup> in the Secret Order of St. Crispin, largest trade union in the United States—in these there is material for assessing the interaction of forces on a national scale by observing them as they became focused in an area as completely local as was North Adams in 1870. And should there be any doubt as to how completely local North Adams was, there is convincing evidence in the daily newspaper of the period. "Tower Brothers," reported the Adams *Transcript* for the enlightenment of

<sup>2</sup> William F. G. Shanks, "Chinese Skilled Labor," *Scribner's Monthly*, II (September, 1871), 495.

<sup>3</sup> The Adams *Transcript*, Oct. 6, 1870. The factory had a capacity production of 12,000 pairs of shoes a week. On March 24, 1870, the *Transcript* reported that it was producing 1,200 pairs a day, or 7,200 a week.



its readers, "lost ten hams last Thursday night. The Towers don't care so much about the hams but they would like to know who stole them."<sup>4</sup>

# I

North Adams was sufficiently synonymous with the rural America that was succumbing to the Industrial Revolution to be interested in the theft of ten hams. But it did not in any sense intend to permit the instruments of a new order to pass it by. A reporter for *Harper's* sensed the transition that was taking place in the Berkshires. Stockbridge, Lenox, Great Barrington—they still boasted their rural tranquillity. Williamstown, the home of Williams College, was a "secluded sylvan altar to the muses and to letters." Pittsfield smiled "with the conscious dignity of the county seat." But North Adams was "bustling."<sup>5</sup> Such unsolicited approval from a traveling observer made it possible for a local historian to think of North Adams with pardonable pride as "the smartest village in 'the smartest nation in all creation': the concentrated essential oil of Yankeedom."<sup>6</sup>

There were good grounds in 1870 for the citizens of North Adams to consider themselves more than well-oiled with the essentials of Yankeedom. Less than a hundred years before, North Adams had been a few sawmills, a few farms, and a pine and oak forest, labeled with the name of the radical Sam Adams. Until 1825 no man had settled there with as much as two thousand dollars in cash or capital. Transportation into the community, nestled at the foot of Mount Greylock, between the Hoosac and Taconic ranges, depended upon weekly stagecoaches from Greenfield and Albany. Until the first railroad connected North Adams with Pittsfield in 1846, there had been little reason for the inhabitants to believe that the community would grow or offer exceptional opportunities for employment and economic advancement.<sup>7</sup> A small frontier village without adequate transportation facilities did not grow, as population statistics amply prove. But it did offer employment for workmen and tradesmen who could fill the wants and needs of the neighboring farmers. Blacksmiths, carpenters, coopers, brickmakers, saddle and harness makers, wagon and sleigh makers, cabinet makers, and tailors—there was room for men like these; and an occasional small cotton manu-

<sup>4</sup> *Transcript*, Mar. 26, 1868.

<sup>5</sup> "Editor's Easy Chair," *Harper's*, XLII (December, 1870), 138.

<sup>6</sup> Godfrey Greylock quoted in Hamilton Child, *Gazetteer of Berkshire County, Mass., 1725-1885* (Syracuse, 1885), p. 248.

<sup>7</sup> Population figures show that in 1790 the population was 2,040. In 1800 it declined to 1,688, and did not surpass the figure of 1790 until 1830 with 2,648. In 1840 the population was 3,639; in 1850, four years after the first rail connection, it stood at 6,172.

factory made use of abundant water power. In 1840 the promise of fulfilling the American dream in North Adams had not been large.

But between 1860 and 1870 something very wonderful happened to North Adams. Competing railroads made possible an increasing facility of immigration and the export of the produce of their labor; North Adams was no longer an isolated village in northwestern Massachusetts. The population jumped from 6,924 in 1860 to 12,090 in 1870. In 1840 there had been a hundred dwellings in the village; in 1870 there were over four hundred. The twenty-two cotton looms of 1840 were now over two hundred. North Adams, like the rest of the United States, was in the throes of its growing pains. The railroad, manufacturing opportunities enhanced by Civil War contracts, and the machine had intruded themselves upon a community that as recently as 1859 had organized an agricultural society for the showing of horses and cattle.

Washington Gladden,<sup>8</sup> who later was prominent as a leader in the social gospel movement and as an opponent of the "tainted wealth" of so typical a product of the Industrial Revolution as John D. Rockefeller, was a relatively unknown Congregational pastor in North Adams in 1870. That year, in a travel book describing the country *From the Hub to the Hudson*, he remarked of North Adams:

There is wealth here,—but all of it has been earned; none of it was inherited. All the leading business men began life with no stock in trade but brains and courage. Out of this capital they have created fortunes for themselves, and have built up a flourishing town.<sup>9</sup>

Statistical evidence substantiated his remarks. Eighteen sixty-eight had been a dull business year, coming as it had on the heels of the high production levels of the Civil War period. Yet even in a dull year the manufacturers of North Adams accounted for seven million dollars worth of goods. Close to four thousand workers were receiving a million and a quarter dollars in wages for working in cotton mills, calico printing establishments, woolen mills, shoe factories, paper mills, and carriage manufactories. During the war the Blackinton Woolen Company had doubled its capacity; fed by government contracts, it had found them "quite profitable."<sup>10</sup> In 1867 Allen B. Wilson, inventor of the Wheeler and Wilson sewing machine, had opened his \$140,000 Wilson House, which residents referred to as a "noted resort

<sup>8</sup> For a short assessment of Gladden see Ralph Gabriel, *The Course of American Democratic Thought* (New York, 1940), pp. 311–15. For his attack on Rockefeller see Allan Nevins, *John D. Rockefeller* (New York, 1940), II, 534 ff.

<sup>9</sup> Washington Gladden, *From the Hub to the Hudson* (Greenfield, 1870), p. 107.

<sup>10</sup> Willis F. Spear, *History of North Adams, Mass., 1749–1885* (North Adams, 1885), p. 89.

for excursionists.”<sup>11</sup> In addition to its rooms for guests, the Wilson House contained eight stores, a public hall, a Masonic Hall, a meeting room for the Manufacturers’ Club, the United States Post Office, and the Western Union office. North Adams had never been like this before. On the outskirts of town a thousand workmen were boring through the Hoosac Mountain, as they had been since 1854, so long in fact that Oliver Wendell Holmes had been unable to resist the temptation to quip that the opening of the tunnel and the millennium were likely to coincide.<sup>12</sup> The new manufacturing interests were giving to North Adams the flavor of an industrial society, but the energy being expended in the boring of a railroad tunnel for the Greenfield and Troy Railroad also gave to the community the flavor of a frontier mining town.

North Adams was proud that it was known as “one of the busiest little towns, humming and smoking with various industry.”<sup>13</sup> The Adams *Transcript*, founded in 1843 as a Whig journal and ever since “an indefatigable advocate of . . . the business interests of the town and vicinity,”<sup>14</sup> was filled with raptures about new enterprises: “A new Steam Saw Mill is about to be built upon the premises of I. Watt, State Street.”<sup>15</sup> In answer to a Massachusetts legislative report that half of the children employed in factories died before the age of eighteen as a result of overwork and long hours, the *Transcript* printed the retort of a manufacturer who said, “I have no doubt that in factories generally the rate of mortality is less than in our colleges and young ladies’ seminaries.”<sup>16</sup> Manufacturing and the pursuit of wealth filled the press with raptures, and turned the heart and mind of North Adams from the soil. It also, in the estimation of one of its prominent manufacturers, might justifiably turn the same heart and mind from God. “While I hold that the intellectual and religious influences we leave, as we pass along the journey of life, are preeminently essential and important,” wrote James E. Marshall, “I would still give prominence to other departments in which we are called to engage. I know of no calling which requires more force and application than . . . manufacturing.”<sup>17</sup> Christianity was, in effect, being invited to join agriculture and the rural village in a defensive alliance against

<sup>11</sup> S. Proctor Thayer, “Adams and North Adams,” *History of Berkshire County, Mass.* (New York, 1885), I, 501.

<sup>12</sup> The tunnel was to facilitate through rail transportation from Boston to Albany by way of North Adams. The remark by Holmes is from Clinton Q. Richmond, “Adams and North Adams,” *New England Magazine*, XXI (October, 1899), 174.

<sup>13</sup> *Harper’s*, XLII, 137.

<sup>14</sup> Thayer in *History of Berkshire County, Mass.*, I, 490–91.

<sup>15</sup> *Transcript*, Mar. 26, 1868.

<sup>16</sup> *Ibid.*, June 25, 1868.

<sup>17</sup> Quoted in Hamilton Morris, *Interesting Facts in the Early History of North Adams* (North Adams, 1860), p. 208.

the capitalism and against the ethic of an infant urban industrialism. The church, it would seem in retrospect, found it either less difficult or more politic to second the sentiments of Mr. Marshall's motion than to enter large-scale operations against the business community. For although Washington Gladden later made battle, when the history of the period which James Marshall introduced to North Adams with his own prewar cotton mill was completed, the church—like the village, like the farm—had capitulated to the manufacturer.

By 1870 North Adams was a manufacturing town. Yet, for all the potential of social disorder it contained, there was little evidence to counteract Washington Gladden's assertion that it was "thoroughly democratic." The "factitious class distinctions so commonly observed in the society of our larger villages are not very obvious here," he wrote. North Adams boasted no Puritan aristocracy. At evening parties given by the prosperous merchants and factory owners in their new homes, guests included mechanics, clerks, and mill operatives.<sup>18</sup>

A class awareness, nonetheless, was brewing. Gladden himself probably contributed to that ferment in a popular lecture entitled "Our Best Society," which he delivered not only in North Adams but also in Pittsfield, where the *Eagle* reported that he handled "the pinchbeck aristocracy without gloves, and exposed mercilessly the shams and frauds of 'our best society' so-called."<sup>19</sup> If lectures and sermons by Congregational clergymen were not a contributing factor to the awakening of a class consciousness in North Adams, the facts of the day at least indicate that the essential ingredients were available.

Almost a third of the population of North Adams was foreign-born, the largest national contributors being Ireland and French Canada. Of these, twenty per cent were illiterate. Half of the population was definitely working class in occupation; most of the other half were their children, three hundred of whom, under the age of fifteen, worked twelve months a year. In the shoe factories, the average daily wage for a man was \$1.70, for a woman ninety cents, for a child fifty.<sup>20</sup> The working day was ten hours, and because machinery enabled the manufacturer to fill orders faster than they were received, there were days at a time when there was no work at all.

On the hills of North Adams, factory owners built new homes; in the Wilson House members of the Manufacturers' Association passed resolu-

<sup>18</sup> Gladden reports attending such a party in his *Recollections* (Boston, 1909), p. 161.

<sup>19</sup> Quoted in *Transcript*, Dec. 8, 1870.

<sup>20</sup> The figures in this paragraph are based upon *The Census of Massachusetts: 1875* (Boston, 1876), I, when the population of North Adams was 15,760. About 5,000 were foreign-born. Of these, 4,750 were natives of the British Empire.



tions in favor of tax reductions; in the Congregational Church on Sunday evenings Washington Gladden delivered talks on the "Domestic and Social Life of Working People"; in the lodge room of the Secret Order of St. Crispin, trade union of shoemakers, working people mulled over the facts of their economic life. The aristocracy of North Adams may well have been in embryo; but so was the challenge. In 1870, in fact, they clashed, and produced the largest Chinese settlement east of the Mississippi.

## II

The new aristocracy was ably represented by Calvin T. Sampson, who attained his position of prominence in the community not because he was a seventh-generation descendant of Abraham Sampson of Plymouth Colony but because he had established himself as a manufacturer of shoes and had made money at it. In 1870 he was described in *Harper's* as a "gentleman of erect, compact figure, firm eye, and few words . . . who means to be master of his own business."<sup>21</sup> This is a description not infrequently applied to successful businessmen, particularly if they are of the boot-straps school, as was Sampson.

His ancestors had fought wilderness, Indians, Frenchmen, Englishmen, and Boston merchants in the two and a half centuries of American history prior to 1870. They had been with William Brewster and Miles Standish at Duxbury, with Braddock at Monongahela, and with Ethan Allen at Ticonderoga. His grandfather had fought against the confiscation of his property by creditors in Daniel Shays' agrarian rebellion of western Massachusetts in 1786. The revolt failed; Jacob Sampson lost his farm and fled to Stamford, Vermont, four miles from North Adams, to avoid arrest. There on his grandfather's farm Calvin T. Sampson was born in 1826. He was born with the heritage of a distinguished fighting tradition, if not with an inheritance that meant ancestral acres or an education at Harvard. At the age of eleven Calvin Sampson was earning money to buy textbooks by hauling wood to North Adams.<sup>22</sup>

In 1870 Sampson might have been excused for sometimes glancing backward, over the previous two decades that had brought him from the bleak Vermont farm to his handsomely furnished private office at the factory on Marshall Street or to his suite of rooms in the Wilson House. He had paid off his father's debts. He had tested himself as a shoe salesman in North Adams and had not found himself wanting. He had, in his twenty-sixth year,

<sup>21</sup> *Harper's*, XLII, 138.

<sup>22</sup> Thayer in *History of Berkshire County, Mass.*, I, 577-80.

gone to Boston for the first time in his life and had convinced several firms there to sell him shoes on consignment. He had made a modest profit the first year, but that was merely a beginning. In 1851, a small store. In 1858, a small factory for the production of women's shoes. And since then many changes, each one for the better, each one more promising, until in 1870 his was one of the finest factories in the state of Massachusetts.

The factory was a neat, simple, three-story brick structure. The single smokestack, many windows, and unsullied plain brick walls were of an architecture more honest and more functional than was the General Grant gingerbread of the new factory-owner homes in the distance. Four-wheeled carts drawn by a brace of horses rattled across brick pavements, as they hauled the daily production of shoes to the freight station or returned with the leather hides and cotton linings that would be turned into ladies' and misses' shoes. For five thousand dollars a year one hundred and fifty workmen produced over 300,000 pairs of shoes.<sup>23</sup> The workingmen may not have been getting rich, but Calvin Sampson himself had been a poor boy once.

The *Transcript* was proud of the factory, and although there were five others in North Adams, Sampson had been the first to realize the opportunities of shoe manufacturing. "This is a large business," the *Transcript* reported, "which has been built up from small beginnings, by persistent energy, industry, economy, and judgment."<sup>24</sup> It was well for Calvin Sampson that the local press viewed his establishment as "A Model Shoe Factory." Before long one of his foremen would be telling the Massachusetts Bureau of Labor that "Mr. Sampson never kept a bargain with me that he ever made."<sup>25</sup> Even his friends later described him as a "very aggressive and quarrelsome fellow."<sup>26</sup>

Energy, industry, economy, and judgment, as the *Transcript* so approvingly maintained, were the essentials, if not the only conditions, of business success in post-Civil War America. Regardless of how shabby the history of American fortune-making may be, regardless of how much more fraud than fact the Horatio Alger stories may have held for most Americans, there is no way in which Calvin T. Sampson can be denied. He employed the essentials described by the *Transcript*, applied them to the boot and shoe industry, and through no accident became a wealthy man. He was aided by high tariffs, which protected the American market from the importation of competing goods from abroad. He was aided by immigration, which pro-

<sup>23</sup> *Transcript*, Mar. 24, 1870.

<sup>24</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>25</sup> Massachusetts Bureau of Statistics of Labor, *Report for 1871*, p. 98.

<sup>26</sup> Donald D. Lescohier, *The Knights of St. Crispin 1867-1874* (Madison, 1910), p. 26n.

vided every manufacturer with a constant source of cheap labor and every labor union with a problem impossible of solution. He was aided by machinery which, in the interest of greater profits, formed the basis of a factory system in which foremen superintended and secured a "uniformity of output, economy of time, labor, and stock . . . and regular hours of steady work on the part of men and women employed in all the processes of shoemaking."<sup>27</sup> One might well ask why, if it were so easy for Calvin Sampson, did not more men succeed. It would not be facetious to answer that in the economic system by which Calvin Sampson made a fortune workingmen were a necessity.

Sampson probably never would have come up from the farm to, among other things, the presidency of the North Adams Savings Bank had it not been for machinery, or for the factory system which machinery made possible. His factory in North Adams was a component of the first phase of the factory system in the American Industrial Revolution. In 1852 the sewing machine was first used for stitching uppers. In 1862 the McKay pegging machine was introduced, eliminating the labor involved in fastening the bottoms to the uppers, and was soon followed by other inventions equally conducive to the elimination of labor costs and the accumulation of profits.

The *Transcript* reported with due regard for the facts exactly what a simple invention might mean to a factory owner and a laboring community. Sampson, it announced, had introduced into his factory heeling machines which "are giving great satisfaction. Each machine performs the labor of six men, and effects a saving of two cents on every pair of shoes made."<sup>28</sup> In Massachusetts, center of the boot and shoe industry in the United States, in 1875 one third fewer workmen were producing fifteen million more pairs of shoes than in 1855.<sup>29</sup> For the first time in American history the future of the skilled workman was threatened by the machine.<sup>30</sup>

But the machine was not all. After the Civil War the shoemaker found himself in a buyer's market. War production had stimulated factory expansion, but now markets were returning to normal. Wages were low, and they were still falling. Employment was irregular, and steady immigration and the return of soldiers from battle offered the factory owners unskilled

<sup>27</sup> Blanche Evans Hazard, *The Organization of the Boot and Shoe Industry in Massachusetts before 1875* (Cambridge, Mass., 1921), p. 98.

<sup>28</sup> *Transcript*, Oct. 6, 1870.

<sup>29</sup> Based upon figures in *The Census of Massachusetts: 1875*, II, xxxvii. 1855: 77,827 workers, 45,066,828 pairs of shoes. 1875: 48,090 workers, 59,762,866 pairs of shoes.

<sup>30</sup> See John R. Commons *et al.*, *History of Labour in the United States* (New York, 1918), II, 77. Machine inventions in the cotton textile industry had previously affected women working at home, but the first threat to a body of skilled factory workmen took place in the 1860's in the shoe industry, of which Massachusetts was the center.

greenhands who could and would operate the machines. Although they could agree on no method of alleviating the plight of the workmen, even the employers in their official organ, *Hide and Leather Interest*, were forced to sympathize with men whose cost of living had increased ninety per cent since 1858 but whose wages had increased but fifty per cent.<sup>31</sup>

Sympathy neither bought food nor cured the psychological disorder which the factory system induced in the mind of the American shoemaker. American railroads had nationalized markets for the factory owner, but for the worker there was no brilliant future where machines manipulated by unskilled greenhands performed the work which had once depended upon his skill. To have told an American shoemaker in the late 1860's that America was a land of opportunity would have been to deny the truth. As a shoemaker he wanted to make shoes. And if machines were necessary to the production of shoes, he wanted to tend those machines. Because he could do neither—in the face of greenhand competition and the profit-incentive of his employer—he raised a mighty protest. From his protest there grew the Secret Order of the Knights of St. Crispin, in 1870 the largest organization of workmen the United States had known.

Founded in 1867, the Crispin order spread rapidly in all shoemaking areas, especially in Massachusetts, which provided not only the largest number of lodges but also some of the most vocal and active national organizers of the period. By 1870 its membership had reached an estimated fifty thousand. The order intended not so much to advance wages and shorten hours, as to protect its membership against the inroads of novices. Its constitution provided that strike funds would be given to local lodges only when strikes were called in resistance to greenhands or in defense of the order. Wages and hours controversies, although particularly frequent in Massachusetts where the appeal of the eight-hour movement was not lost upon local lodges, were to be dealt with as purely local problems. The Crispin attitude toward the machine was neither blind nor stupid. The machine was acceptable if operated by decently paid, skilled workmen. It was unacceptable if employed, as it was, in the interest of greater profits for the manufacturers at the expense of both the skilled worker and the novice who took his place. In a very large sense the Crispin protest was predoomed to failure. Given the American wage system and the tariffs and immigration which regulated it, and the irreconcilable viewpoints of the employer and worker, there was only one avenue

<sup>31</sup> Lescohier, p. 24. Figures based upon a study of prices in Massachusetts shoe manufacturing towns in 1868 reported in *Hide and Leather Interest*, June, 1869, and quoted in *American Workman*, July 3, 1869.



of escape for the worker and that was self-employment in co-operative enterprise. A lifetime in shoemaking neither prepared a man for nor inclined him toward the frontier and a homestead in the West. Strikes, unions, and political actionism were the Crispin weapons that he used in an effort to maintain his economic and social position; yet, co-operative shoe factories in which the worker was both employer and employee, rather than a homestead or unionism or political action, proved to be the best and most practicable solution to the injustices of the American capitalist economy in the 1870's.<sup>32</sup>

Workingman discontent, although spent freely in a movement of protest like the Crispins or absorbed in co-operative successes, was also strongly reflected in Massachusetts politics during the decade, particularly after Ap-pomatox. The 1860's were the period of the National Labor Union, successor to the National Trades' Union of the Jacksonian era and predecessor of the Knights of Labor and the American Federation of Labor. Its leaders included Ira Steward, a Boston machinist whose philosophy of an eight-hour day and activities in its behalf made a national movement of what had been sporadically advocated and adopted in places like the Charleston, Massachusetts, navy yard in 1842; and Wendell Phillips who, after expending twenty-five years on the antislavery movement, turned his attention to capital-labor relations, and who in 1870 was candidate of the Labor Reform party for governor of Massachusetts. In that state the efforts of the political actionists, dominated after 1867 by members of the Crispin order, prior to 1870 had been significant but only vaguely rewarding: they had effected an eight-hour-day plank in the Republican state platform of 1865; in the same year they had elected one third of the aldermen and one fourth of the councilmen in Boston; they had won in 1869 their demand that Massachusetts institute a bureau of labor statistics, the first in the country; in a Crispin-controlled convention of 1869 they had formed an independent labor party for Massachusetts three weeks prior to the state elections and had polled over ten per cent of the vote, winning only a handful of seats in the legislature but demonstrating the importance of the labor vote to the two major parties.

In the industrial field Crispin strikes were sometimes successful, sometimes not. Because any success that they attained came as something of a shock to factory owners everywhere, the fears and alarums of the business community were exaggerated. Contemporaries accused the Crispin movement of seeking to dictate to and achieve mastery over the shoe industry in

<sup>32</sup> Lescohier, cited above, gives a good short history of the Crispin movement. Commons, also cited above, II, pays more attention to political activities of the Crispins. Hazard, in her *Organization of the Boot and Shoe Industry in Massachusetts before 1875*, considers the activities of Crispins in Massachusetts.

Massachusetts. In 1869 and 1870 in the memory of any man then living no union had ever been so successful.<sup>33</sup> There can be little doubt that the owners were, nonetheless, masters of their own shops. When they were willing to raise wages or reduce hours or keep out greenhands, or at least disinclined to fuss about them, they agreed to Crispin demands. When they were unwilling, they hired greenhands or strikebreakers, received the protection of the state police, and hired their own private detectives who were armed "with muskets and kept in constant readiness to repel assaults."<sup>34</sup> They organized, industry-wide, among themselves. The Crispin protest, however, was no less significant because of its apparent failure to make any lasting material progress against the employer. It signaled an organized protest against the machine, it supported the first important agitation for an eight-hour day, it demonstrated the power of a labor vote, and in North Adams it provoked a labor controversy upon which the eyes of the nation were turned in 1870.

### III

It was not to be expected that Calvin Sampson would welcome union activity among his workingmen any more than would other employers of 1870. His ancestors had been fighters. And although Grandfather Jacob had lost to the merchants of Boston and Springfield in 1786, times and the fortunes of the Sampsons had changed. Another fighter was to make family history when Calvin Sampson entered the lists against his predominantly Irish and French Canadian Crispin workmen.

Sampson knew well the history of their grievances. Even before the organization of the Crispin movement he had suffered the experience of a strike, when in 1861 all his men had protested the introduction of a new pegging machine. He had told his men then that the machinery would create employment, and they had gone back to work.<sup>35</sup> Strikes against the use of machinery were infrequent in the 1860's; to the laborer they made, in the end, as little sense as they did to the employer. Sampson's next labor difficulties had come after the Crispins had organized and taken as their basic tenet the elimination of greenhands from the shoe industry. In 1868 he had hired a non-Crispin shoemaker, whose dismissal had been immediately demanded by his Crispin workers. For three weeks Calvin Sampson had tried to keep

<sup>33</sup> "Strikes in Massachusetts" in the *Eleventh Annual Report*, Massachusetts Bureau of Statistics of Labor, 1880, pp. 3-71, is a survey of industrial unrest in that state from 1830 to 1880. Temporary localized successes are noted, but an overall figure of 18 successful strikes out of 149 attempts, for all industry in the period, gives the lie to any assertion of approximate or real labor control of industry, although such cries were raised.

<sup>34</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 25. Account of a Crispin strike at a shoe factory at Ashland, Massachusetts, in which the employer prevailed after five weeks.

<sup>35</sup> Shanks, in *Scribner's Monthly*, September, 1871, p. 495.

his plant open with a single worker who, it was alleged, was finally attacked, beaten, and persuaded not to return to work.<sup>36</sup> In the meantime he had ordered his Crispin workmen, on strike, to remove their tools and benches, and made another effort to fill his factory with greenhands who were "required to sign agreements monthly not to join the Crispin order."<sup>37</sup>

Sampson could not win. His new workers joined the Crispins; he threw up his hands; he rehired some of his former workmen who renounced the order, but he had no reason to believe them and probably did not. Whether Sampson understood the position of the Crispins is debatable but not important. Even if he had seen in their persistence a fear of losing their skill and their sense of security, even if he had attempted to reconcile their daily wage of \$1.70 with butter at forty-four cents a pound, it is not likely that the line of direction which he took would have been in any way altered. A successful businessman in 1870 might sympathize with his workmen, but his duty, as he had learned it in the testing grounds of the market place and even in the temples of God, was to fight them.

As he entered his final struggle with the Crispins, it is not unlikely that Sampson's attitude was as simplistic as his biographer in a local history who wrote that the object of the union "was to enable boot and shoe operatives to combine . . . against the manufacturers."<sup>38</sup> Combination among workingmen was not only illegal and presumptuous, in the mind of a nineteenth century manufacturer; it was also exasperating. And exasperation, when one considered all the other problems of a manufacturer, was a condition of the mind and spirit that any employer might justifiably wish to eliminate.

The non-Crispin workmen who had been hired in 1868 and 1869 were, by 1870, loyal members of the local Crispin lodge. They struck for higher wages. They wanted an end of the ten-hour day. They wanted access to the company books in order to fix wage rates in accordance with profits.<sup>39</sup> "They demanded the discharge of their associates delinquent on the lodge-books of their organization."<sup>40</sup> They were fired.

Sampson then hired scabs from the shoe manufacturing center of North Brookfield. They were no more than off the train before members of the Crispin local had dissuaded them from going to work. When their foreman informed Sampson that they had decided to take the next train back to

<sup>36</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>37</sup> Massachusetts Bureau of Statistics of Labor, *Eleventh Annual Report* (1880), p. 25.

<sup>38</sup> Thayer, in *History of Berkshire County, Mass.*, I, 580.

<sup>39</sup> Daniel Pidgeon, *Old World Questions and New World Answers* (London, 1884), pp. 146-50. An English writer looks at the North Adams labor situation and approves of Sampson's solution to an Old World question.

<sup>40</sup> Boston *Commonwealth*, June 25, 1870, quoted in John R. Commons, *et al.*, *A Documentary History of American Industrial Society* (Cleveland, 1910-11), IX, 85.

North Brookfield, his patience was at an end. "Act your pleasure," he warned them and the local members of St. Crispin. "If you go back I shall just as surely enter a wedge that will destroy your order in five years. I have made my last proposition, and shall do no more."<sup>41</sup>

What had Calvin Sampson meant? An alert union officer might have suspected.

In May, 1869, *Hide and Leather Interest*, in an editorial deploring the extent of Crispin activities, had urged the creation of a national organization of employers to import Chinese and other immigrant labor as strike-breakers.<sup>42</sup> Two months later, at a meeting of Southern capitalists and planters in Memphis, an investigation was undertaken as to the feasibility of contracting Chinese coolie labor to supplant the freedmen in the fields.<sup>43</sup> Prompted by news reports of the use of Chinese labor in California, the *Transcript* had the same month editorialized that "we should exclude the Mongolians from this country altogether, or give them the rights of humanity after we have permitted them to come here."<sup>44</sup> Like the later quisling press of Hitler Europe, the *Transcript* in its next issue had begun the psychological preparation of North Adams for the Chinese invasion. "Christianize and citizenize the Chinese by the touch of human kindness, and we shall succeed, for never yet did Christian effort fail," the editor had observed, pointedly adding that "the influx of these foreign hands recommends itself loudly and patently to the owners of Southern lands."<sup>45</sup> Somewhere a newspaper had carried a report on the effectiveness of Chinese labor in a San Francisco shoe factory.<sup>46</sup>

Whether Calvin Sampson read all of these reports and comments is not important. He probably did. It was a clipping about Chinese labor in a San Francisco shoe factory, however, that he removed from his desk the day that his abortive strikebreakers returned to North Brookfield. The same spring day he dispatched his superintendent to San Francisco with instructions to return with seventy-five Chinamen. They, he felt sure, would destroy the union, provide him with cheap, docile labor, and give him the peace of mind that a busy manufacturer deserved.

<sup>41</sup> Shanks, in *Scribner's Monthly*, September, 1871, p. 495.

<sup>42</sup> Quoted from *American Workman*, June 5, 1869, by Lescohier, p. 9.

<sup>43</sup> The report of the convention's committee on Chinese labor will be found in Commons, *et al.*, *A Documentary History of American Industrial Society*, IX, 80-83.

<sup>44</sup> *Transcript*, July 8, 1869.

<sup>45</sup> *Ibid.*, July 15, 1869.

<sup>46</sup> Thayer tells of this story and of how Sampson had clipped it for future reference, in *History of Berkshire County, Mass.*, I, 581. Lescohier, p. 36, tells of successful Crispin resistance to the introduction of Chinese into the shoe factories of San Francisco in 1869, but points out that by 1871, 1,000 Chinese were employed as shoemakers there and that by 1879 the number had increased to 5,000, and 800 white shoemakers were unemployed.

In the meantime the Sampson factory was closed. His locked-out workmen were disgruntled but not violent. Not until the Chinamen were actually on their way did North Adams know why George Chase, the factory superintendent, had left town so mysteriously.<sup>47</sup> His mission had been successful. He had interviewed the factory owner whose experiences with Chinese labor had been reported in Sampson's newspaper clipping; in turn he had been introduced to the agent of a Chinese contract-labor company who, after two days of investigating Sampson's credit and character, had been willing to sign a contract for the first experiment in the use of coolie labor in the factories of the East.

Although it represented an initial investment of almost ten thousand dollars, the contract bore evidence of paying off in cheaper, less troublesome labor. The labor company agent signed on behalf of seventy-five Chinamen; Chase, on behalf of Sampson. By it Sampson agreed to pay a commission of one dollar for each Chinaman to the company and \$125 to the railroad company for transporting each man to the East in immigrant cars; he contracted to pay each laborer twenty-three dollars a month for the first year, and twenty-six dollars a month the second and third years of the three-year contract; the foreman, an English-speaking Chinaman, was to receive sixty dollars a month; and last, he agreed to provide quarters and fuel. The Chinamen agreed to work for three years, after which they might renew the contract if they desired; they contracted to buy their own food and clothes and to permit their foreman to keep the accounts and deduct the cost of living from their monthly wages. The contract company agreed to forfeit twenty-five dollars and to provide a new workman for any that Sampson found worthless, and to ship the body of any Chinaman who died in Sampson's service to his ancestral home in China.<sup>48</sup> No complaints have been discovered. When the Chinamen came east even "a conductor on the road from Omaha to Chicago . . . pronounced them 'the cleanest lot of emigrants that ever went over the road.'"<sup>49</sup>

#### IV

On June 13, 1870, seventy-five frightened Chinamen arrived at the North Adams depot. On that day the people, the government, and the manufacturing interests of the United States were submitted to a test. As the calico-frocked pig-tailed Orientals hobbled off the immigrant cars on their wooden

<sup>47</sup> Gladden, *Recollections*, pp. 171-72.

<sup>48</sup> Commons, *et al.*, *A Documentary History of American Industrial Society*, IX, 84, contains excerpts from a Springfield *Republican* article of June 17, 1870, in which the terms of the contract are explained.

<sup>49</sup> Shanks, in *Scribner's Monthly*, September, 1871, p. 496.

shoes, they posed the question: would the economy of the East find coolie labor profitable and advantageous? As thirty extra policemen in civilian clothes guarded their debarkation and marched them to their quarters in the Sampson factory, they raised still another question: would the people of North Adams suffer the intrusion of an Oriental colony into their community? And as they crawled into the bunks in their barracks-like home that first night, even as the local Crispins were pondering the meaning of their arrival to the future of the American shoemaker and labor movement, so might the least of those Chinamen have wondered: what will this mean to the future of Chinamen in the United States? Calvin T. Sampson had obligated the United States to find the answers to every question that his experiment of June 13, 1870, had provoked.

The debarkation was not uneventful, but neither were the policemen overtaxed. It is probable that most of the residents of North Adams had never seen one Chinamen, and it is equally unlikely that any had ever seen as many as seventy-five. If there had been a circus parade with a dozen Chinamen, the streets between the railway station and factory would have been lined with an excited crowd. This was no circus parade; it was a threat to the economic security of many homes. And although the streets were lined with an excited crowd, that crowd was also hostile. It hooted, hustled, threw stones, "but did no serious mischief."<sup>50</sup> "A brief assault and a night in the lock-up for one of the assailants" was recorded by one observer.<sup>51</sup> Washington Gladden, for whom missionary work soon began at home,<sup>52</sup> later remarked that "the curiosity of the crowd was so acute that its brutality was held in check." The Chinamen, he continued, "made a spectacle which nobody wanted to miss even long enough to stoop for a brickbat. But all of us were profoundly grateful that the entrance had been effected without bloodshed."<sup>53</sup> As for Sampson, he took no chances. The Chinese were locked within the gates of the factory, the guards were doubled, and precautions taken against its being blown up or set on fire. With the exception of the one assailant who spent the night in the North Adams jail, the people of North Adams found the first day of their newly earned prominence exciting but no more discomforting than the original news of a few weeks before that the Chinamen were coming.

<sup>50</sup> *Nation*, X (June 23, 1870), 397. Accounts of the debarkation may also be found in Gladden's *Recollections* and *History of Berkshire County, Mass.*

<sup>51</sup> Thayer, in *History of Berkshire County, Mass.*, I, 536.

<sup>52</sup> For an account of the missionary work done with the Chinese in North Adams see James L. Bowen, "The Celestials in Sunday School," *Scribner's Monthly*, I (March, 1871), 556-59.

<sup>53</sup> Gladden, *Recollections*, p. 172.

Celestial is a word often used by contemporary reporters who wrote about the Chinamen in North Adams; the same word could in no sense have been applied to the quarters which they found waiting for them. In a separate building on the factory grounds they found their home. Plain wooden tables and benches filled a dining room, at one end of which was a kitchen where they would do their own cooking; parallel to the dining room was their dormitory—four rows of bunks, three high, with narrow aisles between them; a range of windows along the cornice provided light; air entered the room through an open door.<sup>54</sup> If the celestials found these quarters more inviting than the immigrant cars, or if they displayed an abashed curiosity in their factory surroundings, their inquisitiveness was nothing compared to that which their arrival evoked among the newspapers, industrialists, labor leaders, and politicians of the nation.

It was to be assumed that the attention of thinking America would be directed toward North Adams in June, 1870. In that year the American workingman was unusually obstreperous; the United States had recovered from the slump projected by the end of the Civil War and by the precipitate withdrawal of greenback currency from circulation, and the economy had been vouchsafed another three years of prosperity to work out of its system before the panic of 1873 would serve to put the workingman again in his place. As recently as 1868 Anson Burlingame, representing the Chinese government, and Secretary of State William H. Seward had reached an agreement, amid the popular applause of the nation, giving to the Chinamen in America “the same privileges, immunities, and exemptions in respect to travel or residence as may there be enjoyed by the citizens or the subjects of the most favored nation.”<sup>55</sup> On that occasion both East and West agreed with the sentiments of the nation’s unofficial poet laureate, Oliver Wendell Holmes, who had written:

Open wide ye gates of gold!  
To the Dragon’s Banner-fold! . . .  
So may the girdle of the sun  
Bind the East and West in one.<sup>56</sup>

For the eastern United States, as distinct from the eastern world of Holmes’s verse, in June, 1870, the gates had just been opened. The East therefore was curious.

“The van of the invading army of Celestials,” reported the Springfield

<sup>54</sup> *Harper’s*, December, 1870, p. 139.

<sup>55</sup> From the text of the Burlingame-Seward agreement quoted in Commons, *et al.*, *History of Labour in the United States*, II, 150.

<sup>56</sup> Coolidge, p. 145.



*Republican*, "seen in a vision by Wendell Phillips, greatly feared by all democrats, and not particularly welcomed by anybody, except by dire necessity, have [*sic*] arrived at North Adams, in the persons of seventy-five Chinamen engaged by C. T. Sampson to man his shoe factories, and free him from the cramping tyranny of that worst of American trades-unions, the 'Knights of St. Crispin.'" <sup>57</sup>

"They are with us!" exclaimed the Boston *Commonwealth*, commending these men of "almond eyes, pigtailed, rare industry, quick adaptation . . . and all" because they "do not care to be out nights—don't worry about their pay—do not presume to dictate to their employer—and have situations guaranteed to them for three years."<sup>58</sup> The Eastern businessman had surely been delivered.

Sampson's experiment, however, was the source of more than mere initial exclamation upon the part of the press. As the *Transcript* readily announced, reporters came to North Adams from New York, Boston, Springfield, Troy, and Albany to write "long accounts of the Chinamen and Mr. Sampson for their private journals. This private business step," it continued, "has thus become a public event of the widest notoriety and discussion and promises to become the cause of important business and perhaps political results."<sup>59</sup> The reporters were of similar opinion; between them and their editors, they not only kept the American newspaper reader informed of the progress of the new Chinese colony but also did not hesitate to pass judgments and venture predictions based upon what they saw in North Adams.

With the exception of a comparatively miniscule labor press, there was a round of applause for Calvin Sampson. He had displayed "in strong light, the real character and pluck of the man in overcoming any formidable obstacle to the successful prosecution of his business."<sup>60</sup> He had resisted "intimidation and violence."<sup>61</sup> He had done "what every man of spirit and energy should do, if possible—triumphed over every obstacle that hindered the development of his prosperity."<sup>62</sup> He had relieved "himself from dependence on a class of workmen who . . . had nearly made themselves masters of an important branch of Massachusetts manufactures." He had demonstrated that he was "a man of wealth, enterprise, and determination."<sup>63</sup>

<sup>57</sup> The Springfield *Republican*, June 17, 1870, quoted in Commons, *et al.*, *A Documentary History of American Industrial Society*, IX, 84.

<sup>58</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 85.

<sup>59</sup> *Transcript*, June 23, 1870.

<sup>60</sup> Thayer, in *History of Berkshire County*, I, 580.

<sup>61</sup> *Nation*, X (June 23, 1870), 397.

<sup>62</sup> Quoted from the Boston *Commonwealth*, June 25, 1870, in Commons, *et al.*, *A Documentary History of American Industrial Society*, IX, 86.

<sup>63</sup> Shanks, in *Scribner's Monthly*, September, 1871, p. 495.

A newspaper like the Boston *Investigator* might carry a report of a labor meeting in which he was condemned for endeavoring to cheapen and degrade the "intelligent, educated loyal labor of Massachusetts," but all in all the publicity for Calvin Sampson and his shoe factory had been good.<sup>64</sup> Even Horace Greeley and his New York *Tribune*, which, to have been consistent with their denunciations of the free importation of cheap-labor goods from abroad, should have been equally enraged by the importation of cheap labor itself, were solidly behind Calvin Sampson and his Chinamen.<sup>65</sup>

Sampson may have anticipated a favorable press for his experiment, and it is to be assumed that he also anticipated success with his Chinamen. But whether he had foreseen a forty-thousand-dollar saving in labor costs for the first year, or the advisability of contracting an additional force of fifty in 1871, is a matter of conjecture. If these evidences of achievement came to him as a surprise, when he reflected on the work of the first year, they were indeed pleasant reminders of the promises he had made to his recalcitrant workmen to eliminate both them and their union.

The first year was profitable, but it was not an easy year in any sense. There had been attempts at incendiarism; Sampson's life had been threatened; and although the people of North Adams came to accept the Chinamen, they reserved a certain coolness for their townsman Calvin Sampson. It was not likely that the reporters for *Scribner's* and *Harper's*, for whom he relaxed his no-visitors rule, understood as well as Calvin Sampson how trying that first year was.

Ecstasies looked well in print—"A few of the eyes are raised toward us, and there is a bewildering sensation, as if the population of an entire willow-pattern dinner-service tranquilly turned and looked at us."<sup>66</sup> Shoes, however, had never been manufactured by figures on dinner plates and rice-paper fans. Of this Sampson was sure. His workmen were young, all of them single and between the ages of eighteen and twenty-eight, but of shoe manufacturing they had been as ignorant as they were of the English language. It was well for the editors of *Scribner's* to select September, 1871, for an article demonstrating the wisdom and achievement of Calvin Sampson's experiment. It was considerably less difficult, however, for Sampson than they to understand the full implications of his victory. For the first weeks

<sup>64</sup> Quoted from the Boston *Investigator*, July 6, 1870, in Commons, *et al.*, *A Documentary History of American Industrial Society*, IX, 86.

<sup>65</sup> *Nation*, X (June 30, 1870), 413-14. The *Nation* chides Greeley for his inconsistency and mentions that a free-trade journal like the Cincinnati *Gazette* has taken him to task for "welcoming 'pauper labor' immigration."

<sup>66</sup> *Harper's*, December, 1870, p. 138. This article gives a descriptive picture of the Chinamen at work.

Calvin Sampson and George Chase were instructors at a school for shoemakers; they sweated in their efforts to convey the simple processes of machine-operation to workmen who did not understand English and did not always comprehend the sign language of an American manufacturer. They imitated well, and although they soon accustomed themselves to the three-men teams that assembled shoe parts around wooden benches, or to the staccato noise of the pegging machines, they could not be taught the mechanics of the machinery or how to repair it.<sup>67</sup>

Within three months the Chinamen, in their blue overalls and cotton shirts, were producing a larger weekly aggregate of work than had the same number of Crispins. In addition, since they could not be taught to distinguish between cheap and expensive grades of shoes, they were producing work of higher caliber. The judgment of one writer, after viewing the factory and talking with Sampson, was an important piece of reporting for the union-ridden Eastern industrialists:

They labored regularly and constantly, losing no blue Mondays on account of Sunday's dissipations; nor wasting hours in idle holidays; and thus they succeeded in making more shoes than their white brethren had averaged. The quality of their work was found to be fully equal to that of the Crispins. . . . The Chinese were more painstaking . . . and the improved machinery left little depending on their skill.<sup>68</sup>

The statistics were even more convincing. At the end of twelve months Calvin Sampson was saving seven dollars on a case of shoes; the Chinamen were making 120 cases to the Crispins' 110; the savings in production each week were \$840, or \$40,000 a year. Applied to the one hundred and fifteen shoe factories of Massachusetts, these savings, made possible by the introduction of coolie labor, would have amounted to three and one half million dollars a year. The *Scribner's* writer who compiled these statistics addressed himself neither to the question of what was to become of Massachusetts' native workmen nor to the question of to whom the greatly enriched shoe manufacturers would sell their shoes in what would have amounted to a slave-labor economy. But he did, in a revealing admission that cheaper production costs would mean higher profits instead of lower prices, concede that "of course the manufacturer who employs the cheap labor will be the one to benefit by it."<sup>69</sup> Calvin Sampson had won his fight; it was not a fight so noble as those in which his ancestors had participated, but it was the best fight that the America of 1870 had to offer.

<sup>67</sup> *Ibid.*, and Shanks, in *Scribner's Monthly*, September, 1871, p. 496.

<sup>68</sup> Shanks, in *Scribner's Monthly*, September, 1871, p. 496.

<sup>69</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 497.

Sampson had won his fight, but for how long was questionable. While it was clearly evident to one reporter that Sampson had "demonstrated that [Chinese coolie labor] can be safely engrafted upon the more firmly established labor system of the older states of the Atlantic Coast,"<sup>70</sup> another, with a more penetrating judgment and a keener feeling for the American democratic faith, maintained that "labor that can contentedly live in this way is not labor for America. . . . Labor reduced to the celestial conditions . . . in the neat factory at North Adams would be the swift ruin of the country. It could not be so reduced," he continued. "If something must be pardoned to the spirit of liberty, so a great deal must be expected of it, and the instinctive protest of the country against the reduction of labor and its conditions to the lowest terms would be irresistible."<sup>71</sup> Genuine though they may have been, the workingman sympathies of the *Harper's* editor were somewhat counteracted by his concluding remarks that the democratic spirit protested as well against the Order of the Knights of St. Crispin. In 1870 it was apparently more difficult to see and to understand the plight of the workingman when his labor was organized or when it did not come wrapped in a yellow skin.

E. L. Godkin's *Nation* was considerably more thorough in its analysis. It did not think that the advent of Chinese laborers would prove fatal to American civilization. It saw in Sampson's success a potential and powerful strike-breaking instrument that had proved its efficacy. It, therefore, advised all workingmen in these terms:

Capital cannot be resisted successfully by force, or by restrictive legislation, or by combination, however well organized. [Capital] is too subtle and fugacious a thing, and the world is too large and communication too easy, for any one country or race to retain it one minute longer than it pleases to stay. . . . Steam has given it access to an enormous labor market, which the trades-unions of Christendom will find it impossible to penetrate. . . . In the face of this tremendous fact, the efforts of . . . American workmen to coerce capital become almost ludicrous. They have but one means of protecting themselves against its tyranny, and that is, becoming capitalists themselves by co-operating.<sup>72</sup>

This was a grim analysis. For although it may have been true, it in no way coincided with the dominant thinking of the period which advised the nation's young men to pitch themselves into the stream of industry, not by withdrawing into radical co-operative movements but by struggling for survival with other young men in the factories of the free enterprise system.

There were probably readers of E. L. Godkin at nearby Williams College in 1870, but it seems doubtful that the *Nation* was an organ of influence

<sup>70</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>71</sup> *Harper's*, December, 1870, p. 139.

<sup>72</sup> *Nation*, X (July 14, 1870), 18.

among the workingmen of North Adams. Co-operative stores and factories, however, were no particular province of E. L. Godkin. American workingmen knew about them. In the *American Workman* of July 10, 1869, Samuel Cummings, Massachusetts leader of the Crispins, had defined the immediate and long-range objectives of his order in this way: "The present demand of the Crispin is steady employment at fair wages, but his future purpose is self-employment."<sup>73</sup> In June, 1869, a successful co-operative store was opened by the Crispins of North Bridgewater, Massachusetts.<sup>74</sup> The same year Crispin efforts at incorporation, intended to handle the funds of local Massachusetts lodges, many of which followed the North Bridgewater example, were refused by the state legislature; in spite of the opposition of manufacturers, such a charter was granted in 1870, with the purpose of enabling "the state lodge to use the Crispin funds for buying coal, groceries, and other supplies in wholesale quantities in order to distribute them to the Crispins at prices that would lower the cost of living."<sup>75</sup> In the face of Calvin Sampson's body blow to their order, the most promising alternative to starvation for the Crispin workmen of North Adams in 1870 was a co-operative shoe factory.

Although an obvious alternative, the Crispin co-operative to the *Nation* indicated "a calmer sense than we were prepared to give the Crispins credit for."<sup>76</sup> Two weeks after the arrival of the first Chinamen reports were published that twenty-five of Sampson's discharged Crispins had bought a factory, and a similar group was contemplating building one. By October, 1870, the New York *Tribune* had remarked that the Cooperative Shoe Company of North Adams "recommended [itself] as a substitute for hopeless attacks upon capital by means of strikes and political enterprises."<sup>77</sup> The thirty-one owners, who held all sixty shares of the stock which was worth \$100 a share, had more orders than they could fill. They were their own bosses—in fact, Calvin Sampson's competitors—and one company in New York would take all the shoes they could make. Well might the *Tribune* purr: "This little democracy goes on its own way, asking no favors of anyone."<sup>78</sup>

A co-operative shoe company in North Adams was one of the most tangible results produced among the working people of North Adams and Massachusetts by Sampson's "Mongolian battery."<sup>79</sup> It was by no means the only one. For the co-operative owners the actions of Calvin Sampson may have been a godsend, but not so for most of the shoemakers of North Adams. Ten days after the debarkation of the Chinese the *Transcript* reported that

<sup>73</sup> Quoted in Lescotier, p. 49.

<sup>74</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 53.

<sup>75</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 54.

<sup>76</sup> *Nation*, X (June 30, 1870), 412-13.

<sup>77</sup> New York *Tribune*, quoted in *Transcript*, Oct. 6, 1870.

<sup>78</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>79</sup> *Harper's*, December, 1870, p. 139.

"the suspension of work in the other shoe factories caused by this event has ended and work has been resumed. Parker Brothers, Cady Brothers, Millard and Whitman, and E. R. and N. L. Millard offered their old hands work at a reduction of ten percent."<sup>80</sup> At a reduction of ten per cent they returned; to replace those who did not, the factory owners drew from an ample supply of greenhands.

The Order of St. Crispin, although it died, did not go down to defeat in North Adams without fighting. Its members belonged to the Labor Reform party which, besides supporting Wendell Phillips' unsuccessful bid for the governorship of Massachusetts in 1870, also gathered in the meeting hall of the Wilson House "to consider and discuss, among other things, the Chinese question."<sup>81</sup> They attempted without success to organize a Chinese lodge of St. Crispin which would agitate for wages of two dollars a day. Of this effort the *Nation* calmly noted, "Chinese lodges and strikes will come in due time when enough Chinamen are collected together in any given place; but the prospect appears to be not immediately flattering at North Adams."<sup>82</sup> They sent their representatives to New York and Albany and Boston to inform laboring people there of the threat to all Eastern labor in the importation of coolie workmen from China. In 1869 the New England Labor Reform League had gone on record in opposition to the importation of Chinese coolies; then they had experienced no serious threat and by the importation of coolie labor they did not mean exclusion—they referred to what they believed to be a system of direct importation from China of labor by contract. Their resolution of 1869 represented a vote of sympathy for the Crispins of San Francisco, who in that year were experiencing a depression dissimilar in origin but similar in effect to that from which the East had just recovered.<sup>83</sup> Sampson's actions, however, aroused Eastern labor from a position of sympathy.

In July, 1870, a "large and enthusiastic meeting" of workingmen was held in Tremont Temple, Boston. For a full afternoon and evening they discussed measures which should be taken to meet the North Adams experiment; they listened to many speeches, and in the resolutions which they passed they gave full vent to their feelings. Sampson was condemned. His

<sup>80</sup> *Transcript*, June 23, 1870.

<sup>81</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>82</sup> *Nation*, X (June 30, 1870), 412.

<sup>83</sup> The causes of the belated depression in California, as given in Commons, *et al.*, *History of Labour in the United States*, II, 148: California had not departed from gold currency during the war, and its economy was therefore not disturbed as was the East's, after 1865, by the withdrawal of greenbacks from circulation; in 1869 the first transcontinental railroad was completed, throwing thousands of Chinese and whites out of work and enabling the cheaper products of Eastern factories to compete with California goods; the railroad brought even more workmen from the East to a crowded labor market.

use of labor which would not "aid in the permanent development of American resources" was deprecated. In the name of the Massachusetts Bill of Rights, a policy of political actionism was approved which would seek to "secure the protection, safety, property, and happiness of the working people . . . as against this new attempt of capital" to degrade them. The Massachusetts legislature, which preferred to take its advice from manufacturers, was censured for refusing to take action to prohibit contract labor in the state. And in a rousing and revealing resolution the workingmen of Boston opened their eyes:

We have voted for protection to American industry at the suggestion of the rich manufacturers who owned the protected products, thinking to help ourselves, but we now find that, under the scheme of protection, capital is to get the protection and American labor is to be reduced to the Chinese standard of rice and rats. . . . We cut loose, now and forever, from the false and lying knaves who have beguiled us.<sup>84</sup>

The political actionism which they contemplated, the awakening of Eastern labor to the threat of Chinese labor which they desired, were not directed against phantom enemies. In September, 1870, Captain James B. Hervey, after consulting with Sampson, imported sixty-eight Chinamen from California to operate his laundry at Belleville, New Jersey.<sup>85</sup> In July, 1871, Abby Sage Richardson, writing as "The American House Wife," reviewed the difficulties of finding agreeable or efficient domestic help and then remarked that since the "imperturbable Oriental has found his way as far into this Western Hemisphere as the shoe factories of Massachusetts," it would be well to introduce Chinese labor into the American kitchen.<sup>86</sup> Still another writer proposed the adoption of increased Chinese immigration by all "who have the true interests of labor and the laboring classes at heart."<sup>87</sup> The Chinaman was obviously no longer a problem for the local consideration of San Francisco workingmen.

The Crispins carried the demands of their Boston meeting to the August, 1870, meeting of the National Labor Union in Cincinnati. In 1870 the National Labor Union was in its fifth annual convention, well on the way to the step it finally took in 1872 of nominating its own candidates for the presi-

<sup>84</sup> Quoted from the *Boston Investigator*, July 6, 1870, in Commons, *et al.*, *A Documentary History of American Industrial Society*, IX, 86-88.

<sup>85</sup> See Shanks, in *Scribner's Monthly*, September, 1871, pp. 497-98, for an account of Hervey's Passaic Laundry at Belleville.

<sup>86</sup> Abby Sage Richardson, "A Plea for Chinese Labor," *Scribner's Monthly*, II (July, 1871), 286-90.

<sup>87</sup> Frank H. Norton, "Our Labor System and the Chinese," *Scribner's Monthly*, II (May, 1871), 70. Norton favored Chinese labor in part because he felt that it would give the United States a labor force that would keep out of politics.



dency and vice-presidency. In Cincinnati a Crispin-proposed resolution in favor of a separate labor party was adopted. In addition, the activities of the Crispins and the bare facts of Calvin Sampson's experiment in North Adams resulted in the abandonment of the 1869 position against the importation of contract labor in favor of demands that the Burlingame agreement be abrogated and the Chinese be entirely excluded.<sup>88</sup>

The repercussions in national politics were equally pronounced. Protectionist Republicans who found it politically improvident to admit that they might consistently favor high tariffs and the importation of coolie labor, since they both helped the business interests, tossed the issue to their free trade opponents and in effect said, "Well, see what free trade in labor does, will you?" Others who saw the wisdom of not aggravating business or working interests cloaked their deeper reasons with patriotism and religion. "With the flag over our heads and the New Testament in our hands," declared a former Republican governor in a Fourth of July oration in Connecticut, "[we ought] bid them come."<sup>89</sup> Democrats, who wanted to win elections as much as did the Republicans but who had been allowed few successes by Republicans who were still fighting the Civil War, had an equally difficult time in facing the Chinese labor question squarely. They wanted Northern labor support, but Southern Democrats also wanted Chinamen to replace the emancipated slaves in their fields.

Radical Republicans from New England, who had been busy since Appomattox keeping the South—and the Democracy—out of the Union, were now forced to undergo a demonstration of the views that they had entertained as to the equality of the races in their antislavery and reconstruction arguments. Wendell Phillips suffered the embarrassment of being reminded of the inconsistency between his prewar humanitarianism toward the Negro and his 1870 antipathy toward the Chinamen of Massachusetts. Congressmen from Massachusetts, Senator Henry Wilson and Representative Ben Butler, saw the wisdom of forming a nucleus of Eastern opposition to the continuation of Chinese immigration. Wilson had been a shoemaker, and his wooing of labor support in Massachusetts in 1870 did not in any way prevent his election in 1872 to the vice-presidency on the Republican ticket. Wilson supported a congressional bill making void the long-term contracts of Chinese-labor importers, and he described the Chinese workers in North Adams as a degraded form of labor. Butler in a Fourth of July oration in 1870 called

<sup>88</sup> See Commons, *et al.*, *History of Labour in the United States*, II, 148–51.

<sup>89</sup> *Nation*, X (July 14, 1870), 20. The *Nation* during this period appears to have relished the embarrassment caused in political circles by Sampson's experiment. The *Nation*, of course, was never embarrassed by anything.

upon the workingmen of the United States to resist the Mongolian invasion. Both were reminded by E. L. Godkin that they sounded like politicians, as, in fact, everyone did to E. L. Godkin, whose *Nation* was willing to write off the whole North Adams experience with the observation that "it may not have been wise to talk about the Chinese in the way we did when Mr. Burlingame was here, or rush into the treaty with the enthusiasm with which we rushed into it; but there is now no help for it. We must stick to our bargain. It is too late to have the Mongolian blood analyzed, and the low condition of Chinese morals exposed."<sup>90</sup> Few politicians in 1870 could afford to be both consistent and politically wise on the issue which Calvin T. Sampson had delivered to them on the thirteenth day of June.

While the politicians sought emancipation from the question, the Chinamen themselves quietly and unobtrusively turned out shoes for Mr. Sampson at the rate of thirty-five pairs a team each day. Calvin Sampson's labor difficulties were at an end. In the finishing room, in the sole-cutting department, in the furnace, engine, and coal rooms—in fact, everywhere except in the assembly and pegging room—his workers were substantial white American laborers. For those who had once been Crispins, Sampson had proved that he meant business; for the greenhands among them, working with Chinamen was better than not working at all.

North Adams was not happy about the arrival of the Chinamen and never took to its final acceptance of them any degree of enthusiasm. With the exception of the fifty or so good Christians who taught them how to read and write on Sundays, and the fifty visitors who came to watch the tutors, who included college boys from Williams, a district court judge, and children under ten, the people of North Adams seldom were aware that the Chinamen were among them. They made modest purchases in town. On Sundays some of them wore American-tailored black suits. They entertained their Sunday School teachers, including Washington Gladden, at dinner. But essentially they were slaves, regimented by working contracts, divorced from the civilities of life, and somewhat frightened by a world that was not China.

A writer for the New York *Independent*, the most prodigious religious weekly in our history, decided, after visiting North Adams, that the people of the community needed missionaries more than the Chinese. "They've no business here," one woman told him. "Everybody hates 'em, but Mr. Sampson, and he worships 'em more than he does his Maker." Another agreed: "They don't take part in the government. They've no wives or families. They don't mean to stay here. They only come to get money—our money."<sup>91</sup>

<sup>90</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 20, editorial, "The Chinese Invasion."

<sup>91</sup> *Independent*, Feb. 27, 1873.

The Reverend Lewellyn Pratt of North Adams, on the other hand, gratified his feeling for the romantic when he thought that "here, within five miles of Williams College, they are indulged in the anachronism of putting New Year's Day into February, and celebrating it with long strings of fire-crackers for a whole week."<sup>92</sup> The working people of North Adams, however, did not forget why the Chinamen were there and did not permit their fancy to play havoc with their embittered feelings. Gladden with good reason reflected that "the self-restraint of the working-people of North Adams, in the presence of this irritating spectacle, was a cause for gratitude." In his judgment, "the experience of North Adams with the Chinamen was an encouraging instance of the absorbent power of good sense and good will in an American community, in dealing with an acute case of social inflammation."<sup>93</sup> The truth was that everyone—Calvin Sampson, the Chinamen, and in general the people of North Adams—everyone but the shoemakers who were working at a ten per cent reduction in wages and their labor union—had weathered the storm that Sampson had unleashed.

## V

In 1870 twenty per cent of the Chinamen in the United States located outside the states and territories of the Far West were living in the small Berkshire Hills town of North Adams, Massachusetts. In 1880 this was not so. By that year the Eastern population of Chinamen had increased, and the Chinese population of North Adams, which had been 75 in 1870 and had reached 121 in 1875, had dropped to 20. In 1885 there were only five.<sup>94</sup> What happened?

Multiple factors accounted for the disappearance of the Chinese colony and the liquidation of Calvin Sampson's experiment, but one factor more than any other made the employment of Chinese coolie labor no longer necessary in the East.

When their three-year contract expired, many of the Orientals, homesick and tired, returned to China; those who remained a few years longer were reported to have accumulated savings as high as two thousand dollars, with which they could face the future in China complacently. In addition, even newer inventions than those which had at first threatened the Crispins were introduced into the bottomers' room of the Sampson factory; not so many Chinamen were needed. Contract companies in San Francisco were reluctant to provide Chinese labor forces for urban industrial centers where

<sup>92</sup> *Ibid.*, Mar. 20, 1873.

<sup>93</sup> Gladden, *Recollections*, p. 173.

<sup>94</sup> Statistics from United States and Massachusetts census records.

native American workmen were likely to be more hostile than they had been in North Adams. But these were contributing factors. For the major factor which took the necessity out of the employment of Chinamen in North Adams also made all of the political and intellectual ranting and predicting and moaning of 1870 look a little silly. On September 17, 1873, the banking house of Jay Cooke and Company closed its doors, and American capitalism entered one of its periodic economic depressions; membership in unions declined, local and national labor organizations collapsed, and a vast army of unemployed American labor was available for the manufacturer who wanted them.

If the political embarrassments of Republicans and Democrats on the Chinese question in 1870 and if the difficulties of manufacturers with wage-conscious and union-inspired workingmen were problems that warranted resolution at any cost, then it can be inferred that the faith of the politician and the manufacturer in an economy of guaranteed depressions should never waver. Depressions may bring problems laden with difficulties, but like the little lady on the Dutch Cleanser can, they also chase dirt. The slate on which reformers, labor leaders, industrialists, editors, and politicians had written, sometimes with boldness and sometimes with fear, on the question provoked by Calvin T. Sampson in 1870, was on September 17, 1873, wiped as clean as the books of Jay Cooke and Company.

In 1874 the Knights of St. Crispin, already eliminated from North Adams, all but disappeared. A lack of class consciousness upon the part of most workingmen, inadequate finances, and a loose organization had helped to deny it the actual strength which its unprecedented membership warranted; the panic of 1873 and the unemployment it carried with it were all that was needed to push the Crispins over the brink. The first great protest of American workingmen against the machine had ended; an instrument in the hard struggle of laboring groups toward political actionism had been eliminated.

Only in California did the question of Chinese labor remain a question of serious political importance. Native Americans joined the ranks of the unemployed, and in their protests, beginning in the seventies, were joined by the capitalists who had begun to find the competition of Chinese manufacturing firms as unpleasant as the competition of coolie labor had become to the American workingman. In 1876 when both the Republican and Democratic parties placed Chinese exclusion on their national platforms, and in 1882 when senators were still talking about the North Adams experiment during their debates on the exclusion bill,<sup>95</sup> the issue of Chinese immigration

<sup>95</sup> Coolidge, p. 177.

was a politically safe one. By then the politician could please both the workingman and the manufacturer by excluding the Chinaman, and that is what the United States did in 1882.

By 1882, also, the Calvin T. Sampson Shoe Company had been incorporated, and Sampson had succumbed to the temptations of the South and was spending the cold Berkshire winters in Florida. For a self-made New England businessman who only wanted to make money he had provoked more history than all his fighting ancestors. They had fought in the ranks; Sampson had been a marshal. Although the wage and hour demands and the political actionism and the protest against machinery of the Crispins of the 1860's have been carried into the twentieth century by workingmen who have built on their experience, Sampson in 1870 emerged from a battle with the then strongest union in American history an overwhelming victor. He had provided the Eastern workingmen with a laboratory from which came an indoctrination in opposition to Chinese labor and an unstinted support to all efforts at Chinese exclusion. For Washington Gladden, who reached the summit of his prominence as an outspoken critic of American industrial society in the latter decades of the nineteenth century, he had given a first demonstration in industrial unrest. In terms of the promises implied in the American democratic faith, Sampson himself was both example and detractor. He personified, in his rise to wealth and in his mastery of a situation, the American belief in the freedom of the individual and the American attachment to the legends of Horatio Alger. But in the sense that the personal and economic drive which propelled him also violated the bare possibility of success and fulfillment of the American dream for so many others, in this sense, his example was tarnished.

# The Maine Frontier and the Northeastern Boundary Controversy

THOMAS LE DUC\*

THE bleak February of 1839 found some 10,000 of the Maine state militia summoned to arms for the occupation of the Aroostook valley. With this action the attempt of Maine to prevent timber thievery was transformed from a mere assertion of sovereignty over the disputed territory of the northeast into an active, unilateral seizure of the region claimed by Great Britain under the terms of the treaty of 1783. The episode has been viewed by historians with a good deal of merriment, and the bloodless military operations of that sub-zero winter have been tagged "The Pork and Beans War." Elements of hilarity were not lacking, but a few questions not fully answered by historians may be raised in sober retrospect. Why had the national governments of Great Britain and the United States been content to let the issue of the northeastern boundary go so long unsettled? Why, after fifty years of disagreement and dilatory negotiation, did the conflict explode in border clashes and military mobilization? Were there new forces that had come into play in the half century after the signing of the ambiguous treaty of 1783?

The ultimate settlement of the northeastern boundary in the Webster-Ashburton Treaty appears at first sight to involve only a reasonable compromise of overlapping territorial claims, a division of amorphous acreage in which the two nations had interests that were identical, competitive—and negligible. But analysis shows that the interests of the nations and states concerned in the territory were more complex than has been assumed. The real logic of events becomes clearer when one examines the expanding Maine frontier against the background of American politics and the affairs of British North America. Only then do the diplomatic negotiations from Franklin to Webster fall into their proper perspective as adjustments to reality rather than as shrewd manipulations of faulty maps and ambiguous treaties.

The territory at issue comprised, roughly, that portion of the St. John basin that lies west of a line projected due north from the source of the St. Croix. The problem was simply the location of the terminus of that line

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and of the course of the boundary from that point westward to the head of the Connecticut River. The British claim had fixed on Mars Hill as the terminal point; the American claim extended the line a hundred miles farther north. In the intervening area lay a region sparsely settled and incompletely surveyed. Apart from Acadians who dwelt in isolated penury near present-day Edmundston,<sup>1</sup> there were few permanent settlers north of Mars Hill, Maine. Along the Aroostook River the year 1837 found, in addition to trappers, timber trespassers, and two or three storekeepers, not more than one or two hundred settlers.<sup>2</sup> To this district Maine and New Brunswick both laid claim but neither was willing adequately to police the timberlands. That negligence, and the anarchy which was its fruit, suggests indifference at the seats of government, but this reading of history overlooks the strategy of an expanding Maine frontier movement.

In the disputed territory Britain had a single and well-defined interest. If she did not always clearly understand it, if her diplomacy faltered, it was for characteristic reasons: Palmerston's inability to formulate a rational policy toward the United States, the want of liaison between the Foreign and War-Colonial Offices, and the practice of both those departments that centralized in London the making of detailed policy for all officers in the field.

The St. John basin was no longer valued by the British, as in earlier days it had been, for ships' masts and other defense industries. By 1804 the admiralty had abandoned the New Brunswick forest and had concentrated procurement in Quebec hands.<sup>3</sup> After that time the broad arrow was no longer blazed on oak and pine, and trespassing on crown lands, no longer subject to adequate official vigilance, became widespread. Inevitably it extended itself along the St. John tributaries from territory that was admittedly British to land that was in dispute. Timber trespass early achieved in New Brunswick a popular sanction that it never enjoyed in Maine. The withdrawal of the mast trade to the St. Lawrence had freed a large body of migratory labor for which agriculture was notoriously unable to compete. The provincial government had adjusted its land laws to recognize the difference

<sup>1</sup> Thomas Albert, *Histoire du Madawaska* (Quebec, 1920) and Charles W. Collins, "The Acadians of Madawaska, Maine," New England Catholic Historical Society, *Publications*, No. 3 (Boston, 1902).

<sup>2</sup> Edward Wiggin, *History of Aroostook* (Presque Isle, Maine, 1922), *passim*. The most reliable British authority is James Maclauchlan, warden of the disputed territory for New Brunswick, who knew what was going on locally but sometimes let his personal interests in property interfere with his usefulness. See his account in a letter of June 12, 1838, to Sir John Harvey, lieutenant governor of New Brunswick. Delancey-Robinson Papers, VII, Public Archives of Canada.

<sup>3</sup> Robert G. Albion, *Forests and Sea Power* (Cambridge, Mass., 1926), p. 353.



between permanent settlement and fugitive timbering, but little effort was made to collect stumpage fees; the crown lands were in fact, "open to all comers."<sup>4</sup> This traffic, in less specialized timber, that supplanted the old navy business was enthusiastically supported by commercial interests in the province which were more concerned for trade than for either the collection of crown revenues or the maintenance of peace. Free timber afforded the city of St. John at first a cushion to the loss of the admiralty trade and, later, a staple commodity for export. Any serious effort to suppress cutting on crown lands would have affected the export trade adversely and intensified the chronic quarrel between St. John merchants and the provincial governors.

The St. John valley in New Brunswick was essentially a forest economy. Only in the lower reaches, where the accessible timber had been cut and where the intervalles were fertile, could agriculture compete and establish itself on a true settlement frontier.<sup>5</sup>

The British interest rested, then, on neither tillable land nor timber. Neither, save in the fevered bitterness of Palmerston's reckoning, did it lie in prestige. The real stake was the defense of the Canadas. During the months when ice closed the St. Lawrence to navigation, the only access to Canada from the sea and the only link with the military base at Halifax lay by way of the St. John valley. From the Bay of Fundy troops and supplies could be moved upriver to Edmundston and then across Lake Temiscouata to Rivière du Loup on the St. Lawrence. It was a painful route and impassable except in winter to all but single travelers. In winter, ice and snow afforded a kind of passage to sledges and permitted the movement of larger groups and of bulk goods and artillery.<sup>6</sup> Until 1837 this was the little-recognized lifeline of empire; the Canadian rebellions of that year taught the British again its immense value.

So highly did the British esteem the St. John-Temiscouata route that in 1842 they were glad to buy its security in the dear currency of Rouses Point,

<sup>4</sup> A. R. M. Lower, *The North American Assault on the Canadian Forest* (Toronto and New Haven, 1938), p. 76.

<sup>5</sup> Wage rates were approximately thirty-five per cent higher in the counties where lumbering predominated than in the commercial and agricultural counties. See the table in James F. W. Johnston, *Report on the Agricultural Capabilities of New Brunswick* (Fredericton, 1850), p. 146. See also Alexander Wedderburn, *Statistical and Practical Observations Relative to the Province of New Brunswick* (St. John, 1835), p. 9. Even for potatoes, New Brunswick depended on imports. [Peter Fisher] An Inhabitant [pseud.], *Notitia of New Brunswick* (St. John, 1838), p. 31. It should be remembered that most of the British immigrants to New Brunswick possessed neither the capital nor the skills to enable them to embark at once on agriculture. These circumstances conspired with the pull of the lumber trade to leave New Brunswick an extractive economy with less stability of social institutions than a definable though expanding agricultural frontier might have given it.

<sup>6</sup> Sir John Harvey to Sir John Colborne, Mar. 27, 1839, Series M, vol. 743, Public Archives of Canada.

the key to Montreal's inland defenses. But, in the years immediately preceding, the administrative confusion of the government in London nearly lost it for them. The plan of colonial and diplomatic administration by which provincial governors, British ministers in Washington, and military commanders in the field were subjected to a detailed direction better suited to customs clerks proved wholly inadequate when the press of events on the Maine border outraced slow communications with the home government.

The consequences of this system fell most heavily on the lieutenant governor of New Brunswick. His problems were almost insoluble and only a man of the patience of Sir John Harvey could have so well met them. He had to contend not only with the follies of a War-Colonial Office that was remote, ill-informed, and dogmatic but also with his immediate military superior, Sir Colin Campbell, lieutenant governor of Nova Scotia. The conflict with Campbell was relatively simple. As commander of the British troops in the maritime provinces, Campbell indulged himself in the vanity of holding in Halifax a substantial, decorative garrison at times when tactical requirements dictated a deployment of the meager forces along the route to Canada.<sup>7</sup>

The failure of the British government to grasp the explosive nature of the boundary problem, its failure to sense the implications of an advancing frontier in Maine, is demonstrated in an instruction sent to Harvey as late as January 1, 1839, on the eve of the violence to which fifty years of anarchy had led. He was advised, "if it can be done without an armed collision with the Citizens of Maine, to take steps for breaking up and rendering impassable so much of the road between the Penobscot and the Restook as lies within the Boundary claimed by Great Britain."<sup>8</sup> That the Colonial Office could have imagined it possible to destroy the lifeline linking the Aroostook settlements with Bangor without insuring hostilities, is a measure of Glenelg's unawareness.<sup>9</sup>

To the difficulties of dealing with his superiors, not excluding the governors general of British North America, were added Harvey's exciting relations with an annual succession of Maine governors. There is no evidence

<sup>7</sup> For one of Harvey's frequent pleas for troops, see his letter of Jan. 29, 1839, to Campbell, Delancey-Robinson Papers, VIII, Public Archives of Canada. The New Brunswick press, possibly inspired, was quick to charge Campbell with sabotaging Harvey's operations. *St. John Observer*, Feb. 26, 1839.

<sup>8</sup> Glenelg to Harvey, Jan. 1, 1839, Series C.O. 188, vol. 166, no. 131, Public Archives of Canada.

<sup>9</sup> Nor was the situation greatly improved when Lord Normanby succeeded Glenelg as colonial secretary in February, 1839. His feeble understanding of the circumstances is registered plainly in dispatches to Harvey dated March 15, April 16, and June 6, all 1839. Series C.O. 188, vol. 166, Public Archives of Canada.

that any Maine governor ever obstructed the use of the St. John military route,<sup>10</sup> and that happy circumstance went a long way in conserving Harvey's good will. His own distaste for the Brunswick trespassers as the real source of friction is unquestioned, but he never backed up with any real semblance of authority his proclamation closing the disputed territory to British subjects. His indifference to lumber values extended to Maine trespassers, a folk better known to Harvey's wardens than to Maine historians. Nor were officials of the state of Maine annoyed as long as they stayed south of the St. John. In the Aroostook region they were free to build roads, conduct geological surveys, and convey land, but when, in 1831, they incorporated the Acadian settlement as a town and when, six years later, they took a census of it as a basis for distributing the federal surplus, these acts of sovereignty, impinging directly on the winter military route, were followed by arrests.<sup>11</sup>

Harvey's policy stands out with crystal clarity. He understood perfectly the value of the winter route to the St. Lawrence; he proposed to defend it fully and to prevent any American occupation that might interfere with its security. But, as the man on the spot, he contributed even more, for he grasped and attempted to communicate to his superiors the menace of an expanding Maine frontier.

When one turns to the task of defining the American interest in the disputed territory, analysis becomes more difficult and one sees at once why historians have been content to rely on diplomatic and cartographic backgrounds. The process has led them to premise that the American claim was valid, which is irrelevant, to assume that the federal government was genuinely concerned to establish that claim, which is untrue, and to conclude that the final negotiation was based on a compromise of legalistic claims, which is beside the point.

The absence of any concrete national interest in the disputed territory of the northeast has supported this reasoning. The public domain belonged not to the federal government but to the states of Maine and Massachusetts in equal shares. Pulp and potatoes had not yet emerged as staples of national importance; and, at a time when settlement frontiers were embarrassingly abundant, the Maine frontier differed in that it stood outside the ambit of

<sup>10</sup> But when the Maine land agent erected Fort Kent, twenty miles upriver from the Acadian settlement at Madawaska on the St. John, Harvey was moderately alarmed and protested to General Scott and to the British minister in Washington, and sent his land agent to investigate at the site. Harvey to Winfield Scott, draft, May 14, 1839, M Series, vol. 644; Harvey to Henry S. Fox, May 8, 1839, draft, Delancey-Robinson Papers, II; Harvey to Fox, May 13, 1839, M Series, vol. 363, Public Archives of Canada.

<sup>11</sup> The town-meeting incident is recounted in Henry S. Burrage, *Maine in the Northeastern Boundary Controversy* (Portland, 1919), pp. 175-91, and the census difficulties, *ibid.*, pp. 224-26.

federal land policy and was a dead end rather than a route to new frontiers.

The simple truth is that the Democrats had no specific policy on the boundary dispute and they floundered at formulating one because the issue had important implications in sectional politics. Time had sanctified the American claim to a degree where national prestige was involved. In an age when popular attitudes towards Britain were essentially emotional and at a time when Maine was neither a certain nor a negligible weight in party politics, the acceptance of less than the whole territory seemed to party-wise politicians a risk scarcely worth taking. Southern Democrats, on the other hand, felt towards Maine much as they had when the state was organized in 1820. Opposition to northern expansion, however just or however minor that expansion might be, was an act of faith. The threat of Anglo-American hostilities over Maine, as one of the multiple conflicts between the two nations, was even less attractive than the possibility of peaceful expansion. War would disturb the cotton market,<sup>12</sup> and might lead to extravagant achievements in northward expansion. And yet the Democrats would need the support of Maine in the election of 1840.

The frustration of the Democratic party was matched by that of John Forsyth, Secretary of State. Forsyth was a Georgia mediocrity whom Van Buren had elevated to cabinet rank as a reward for faithful party service. If he understood the Southern interest, he was also a confirmed Anglophobe who could not bring himself to work constructively with the British minister. His own conflict, together with Van Buren's sense of expediency, produced drift. No effort was made to work out with Great Britain a *modus vivendi* for policing the northeastern frontier. For fear of offending either Maine or the South the army garrison at Houlton, Maine, was kept in idleness. The problem, as an international issue, should have been handled at national level. Such a course would have alarmed the South, enraged Palmerston, and thwarted the trespassing that led to trouble.

If the Democratic administration in Washington was never able to formulate a positive and conscientious policy on the northeastern problem, it was not so with the two states directly concerned. Maine and Massachusetts each knew what it wanted. At the time Maine was established as a separate state Massachusetts retained ownership of half the public lands. From the sale and lease of timberland the Commonwealth hoped to derive a steady income of no small bulk in an age of modest public finance.<sup>13</sup> Neither state

<sup>12</sup> As, in fact, even the threat did. Letter of Prime, Ward, & King, New York correspondents, to Joshua Bates of Baring Brothers, Mar. 9, 1839, Baring Papers, Public Archives of Canada.

<sup>13</sup> In 1820 Maine had declined to buy out the Massachusetts interest, estimated at eight million acres, for \$188,922. Richard G. Wood, *A History of Lumbering in Maine, 1820-1861*

had a consistent land policy, but Massachusetts leaned towards the sale of stumpage rights rather than of freeholds. Under the preferred policy administrative expenses were less, the income was recurrent, and advantage could be taken of the anticipated rise in land and lumber values. Massachusetts had no interest in the peopling of the Maine woods and the collection of purchase payments from hundreds of small buyers was awkward, uncertain, and expensive. It was easier, in a word, to deal with interests that would lease whole townships. The role of Massachusetts was that of an absentee landlord and her interest was purely financial. When, in 1839, Maine ordered out her militia to hold the disputed territory, Governor Everett of Massachusetts successfully forestalled a sympathetic movement in the Massachusetts legislature; and, in 1842, Massachusetts was content to accept a financial settlement for claims to lands north of the St. John River.

The attitude of Maine was quite different. Maine was concerned not only with her unsold lands but with the whole territory in dispute. State pride was involved and while it served as a useful emotional appeal it affords only a partial explanation of Maine's unyielding stand on the boundary issue. It was this intransigence that brought on the crisis of 1839, but the roots of it are established in the course of party politics and in the tangible meaning of the Aroostook frontier for Maine.

Almost from that day in 1820 when Maine was set off as a new state the boundary dispute took on a sharper tone and moved more swiftly towards resolution. Massachusetts had been content to reap the profits of timber sales, but Maine was dissatisfied with the role of landlord to lumbermen and attempted to contrive a land-sales policy that would encourage permanent agricultural settlement.<sup>14</sup> This design was thwarted by a conspiracy of nature and economic forces. In Maine, as in New Brunswick, agriculture could not compete with lumbering for the meager supply of labor. Farmers found it profitable to sell their hay and rent their teams to the lumber camps. They often hired themselves out for a winter in the bush, stayed longer and longer into the spring, neglected their farms, and eventually found themselves captives to a transient, extractive economy. When the timber was cut and the camp moved, they went with it and abandoned their nominal farmsteads.<sup>15</sup>

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(Orono, Maine, 1935), pp. 48-49. But in 1838, even after the collapse of the land boom, a joint committee of the Massachusetts legislature estimated the value of the Commonwealth's remaining 3.5 million acres at two million dollars. Mass. Senate No. 67, 1838, *Report and Resolves in relation to the North-eastern Boundary* (Boston, 1838), p. 5.

<sup>14</sup> Wood, pp. 50-51.

<sup>15</sup> The social pathology and economic consequences of the process are thoroughly examined in A. R. M. Lower, *Settlement and the Forest Frontier in Eastern Canada* (Toronto, 1936).

The process was familiar even in areas well suited by New England standards to agriculture. But, even by those standards, much of the land north of Augusta, roughly, was untillable. Except for the coast, the valley of the Kennebec, and a few scattered stretches of bottom land, the soil was thin, stony, ill-drained, and often acid. As the lands south of Augusta were gradually taken up, the prospects of further agricultural expansion in Maine seemed dim. Up to 1830, say, the northern territory, including the land in dispute, was thought of as a wilderness of conifers and ponded streams. Then exploration came to the rescue and revealed the Aroostook basin as a geographical anomaly, a rich pocket of unusual soils set down in a land of spruce muskeg.

The first wave of enthusiasm was set off by the railway surveys. The object was to find a route that would link Montreal to the seaboard and thus furnish a year-around circuit for the Canadian trade. Not only railway promoters but the city boosters of port towns from Halifax to Portland expanded cheerfully on the financial prospects; the want of technical and financial experience with railways was not a rein but a spur to the more ambitious schemes. The idea of crossing the disputed territory by following up the Aroostook was never to be realized, but a survey in 1836 suggested the strategic value of the area and recounted in detail the qualities of the soil.<sup>16</sup>

After the railway engineers came the geologists. That the work of Abraham Gesner, provincial geologist for New Brunswick, was halted by budget cuts before he reached the disputed territory suggests, perhaps, how little that province was concerned. It is not impossible that his field crews would have been deported by irate Maine officials, but it is doubtful that the findings of an undisturbed survey would have been meaningfully interpreted by the British Colonial Office.

In 1837 the first of the Maine state geological surveys was published and in the same year Massachusetts published an account of the public lands by Charles T. Jackson, geologist for both states. Noting the extent of hardwoods on the Aroostook, Jackson drew attention to the deep, loamy soils and predicted that, "the employment of future settlers will be . . . agriculture

<sup>16</sup> *Prospectus of the St. Andrew's and Quebec Railroad* (St. Andrews, N. B., 1836). Sanford Fleming, *The Intercolonial: An Historical Sketch* (Montreal, 1876), pp. 8-10. This particular enterprise awakened a distrust in Maine and Washington that was so effectively communicated to London that the lieutenant governor of New Brunswick received instructions, "peremptorily to prohibit any further proceedings" on the part of the New Brunswick promoters. Letter of Sir John Harvey to the secretary of the St. Andrews and Quebec Railroad Association, July 24, 1837, Milner Papers, IV, Public Archives of Canada. The local and regional problems are put into their proper technological and chronological perspective in William J. Wilgus, *The Railway Interrelations of the United States and Canada* (Toronto and New Haven, 1937).

and the various manufactures.”<sup>17</sup> His discovery of iron and his suggestion that anthracite in commercial quantities would be found farther up the Aroostook<sup>18</sup> could only awaken excitement. Jackson not only declared that “the soil itself is worth vastly more than the timber,” and that the Aroostook and neighboring valleys “are the richest agricultural sections in Maine,”<sup>19</sup> but predicted in 1838 that when the road from Houlton north to the Aroostook was completed, “settlers will soon crowd into that part of the country, which will become so densely populated, as to defy the power of foreign aggression.”<sup>20</sup> Here he made explicit the interest and the strategy of Maine. Unknown to the British Colonial Office, unstated by contemporary political figures, overlooked by historians, this dream and this reality operated in the long run to define the boundary. It remains to point out that the territory north of the St. John that was surrendered by the United States under the Webster-Ashburton Treaty was poor spruceland, altogether unlike the limestone soils that have made the Aroostook famous.

Not only the geologist but other Maine state officials visited the disputed territory. Whatever his mission, each went out of his way to direct attention to the richness of the soils, the absence of steep and stony hills, and the abundance of hardwood, not only valuable as fuel and building material but a dependable indicator of good soil. Ezekiel Holmes, appointed in 1838 to survey transportation needs, enthusiastically discussed agricultural prospects, bulwarked his conclusion with production figures from established farms, and closed his report with a hearty recommendation that able-bodied young men abandon the stony hill country and move to the Aroostook.

Are you a young man just starting in life, but with no capital, save a strong arm—good courage, and a *narrow axe*? Go to the Aroostook; attend assiduously and carefully to your business; select a lot suitable for your purpose, and with the common blessings of providence, you will, in a very few years, find yourself an independent freeholder, with a farm of your own subduing, and with a capital of your own creating.<sup>21</sup>

The appointment of Holmes to study transportation requirements for the development of the north country suggests the importance which Maine

<sup>17</sup> Mass. Legislature, Senate No. 89; Charles T. Jackson, *First Report on the Geology of the Public Lands in the State of Maine* (Boston, 1837), p. 38.

<sup>18</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 26.

<sup>19</sup> Charles T. Jackson, *First Report on the Geology of the State of Maine* (Augusta, 1837), pp. 109–10.

<sup>20</sup> Charles T. Jackson, *Second Annual Report on the Geology of the Public Lands belonging to the Two States of Maine and Massachusetts* (Augusta, 1838), p. 5. “It should be the policy of the two States of Maine and Massachusetts to afford every facility to the actual settler . . . , for there is no more effectual method of settling the boundary question, than by actually taking possession of the country. . . .” *Ibid.*

<sup>21</sup> Ezekiel Holmes, *Report on an Exploration and Survey of the Territory on the Aroostook River, during the Spring and Autumn of 1838* (Augusta, 1839), p. 78.



had come to ascribe to the Aroostook. It underlines, too, the detached nature of the Aroostook frontier, isolated a hundred miles from the end of continuous settlement, and the significance of transportation for such a frontier and for a region that drained into a foreign country. The Aroostook is part of the St. John basin and inbound goods, like outbound lumber, could best move over that route. But, if Maine were to settle and control the north country, regular, direct communication was imperative. Access by the St. John was wholly dependent on the caprice of New Brunswick. Settlers were not slow to point out that the Aroostook was isolated, and to clamor for roads across the hundred-mile wasteland from Mattawamkeag on the Penobscot. The United States army had bushed out a road, passable to Houlton by 1832, and this at once became a migration and supply route.<sup>22</sup> During the early 1830's the road was extended by short stretches and by the winter of 1836-1837 was open to sleds as far as the mouth of the Presque Isle on the Aroostook.<sup>23</sup> The west road, now state highway no. 11, had been cut out by 1833,<sup>24</sup> and was completed to the upper Aroostook in the year of crisis, 1839.<sup>25</sup>

Road construction was an expensive enterprise and it contributed seriously to the drain on state finances. By 1839 Maine was in a fiscal predicament. During the boom years before the panic of 1837 the state had incurred a large debt and now, like many another frontier state, she was having trouble in meeting her obligations.<sup>26</sup> Permanent title to the disputed territory would improve Maine's credit position.

If expansion were the long-range solution, attention could meanwhile be distracted from the plight of the state by energetic assertions of Maine's right to the territory. Party politics operated within Maine so as to put a premium on firm executive action in the boundary question. The Whigs and Democrats were so evenly matched in the 1830's that control see-sawed from one party to the other almost annually. So close were the returns in 1840, for example, that the failure of either national-party candidate to secure a majority threw the choice of governor into the state legislature.<sup>27</sup>

After fifteen years of statehood, Maine's interest in the disputed territory had become an article of faith. An early settler, reminiscing on frontier days,

<sup>22</sup> Wiggin, pp. 74-75.

<sup>23</sup> Jackson, *Second Annual Report on the Geology of the Public Lands* . . . , p. 41.

<sup>24</sup> James MacLauchlan to Sir Archibald Campbell, Nov. 22, 1833, M Series, vol. 743, Public Archives of Canada.

<sup>25</sup> Wiggin, p. 69.

<sup>26</sup> *Annual Report of the Treasurer of the State of Maine* (Augusta, 1840), p. 27. Bangor *Whig & Courier*, Apr. 17, 1838. Alexander Trotter, *Observations on the Financial Position of the States of the North American Union* (London, 1839), pp. 332-33.

<sup>27</sup> Election statistics are found in Louis C. Hatch, *Maine, a History* (New York, 1919), I, 209-40. See also the useful sketches of John Fairfield and Edward Kent in the *Dictionary of American Biography*.

wrote, "in the Providence of God, our destiny was in the Aroostook."<sup>28</sup> John Fairfield, later a Democratic governor, had prophesied privately in 1832 that, "we shall have some time or other to meet this question *as a party* & shoulder the odium of sitting down quietly by the Dutch boundary,"<sup>29</sup> but he, as well as his opponents, understood perfectly that the odium would be politically fatal.

That intrastate politics was the real key to the settlement of the boundary is seen in the anticlimax and denouement of the crisis. When Winfield Scott was sent to Augusta in 1839 to secure the withdrawal of British troops and Maine militiamen from the disputed territory he found no difficulty in dealing with his ancient military adversary, Sir John Harvey. His real problem, and his triumph, was to get bipartisan agreement in Maine. Fairfield and the other Democrats were reluctant to back down lest the Whigs capitalize on their treachery to the state.<sup>30</sup> Daniel Webster later claimed that "the grand stroke was to get the previous consent of Maine and Massachusetts. Nobody else [*i.e.*, before Webster] had attempted this; it had occurred [*sic*] to nobody else . . .,"<sup>31</sup> but it was Scott who really broke the log jam. Even Forsyth, who had evaded his responsibilities too long, made a sound but ill-timed attempt in June, 1839—when, it may be noted, Webster was calling for unilateral military occupation of the disputed zone—to secure the consent of both parties to negotiation with England for a conventional boundary.<sup>32</sup>

That the settlement of the boundary had to be kept out of state politics indicates how sacred the issue had become in Maine. Aroostook County—the area from the St. Croix to the headwaters of the St. John—was the Maine frontier. It was isolated from the rest of the state by a stretch of wilderness even now unpeopled, but in the calculations and feelings of Maine folk it was deeply rooted.

Maine's claim extended northward beyond the Aroostook region and thus to land that lay athwart the British military route. For title to this land and protection to the military route the British were prepared to pay, but concessions on Rouses Point and on disputed zones farther west had no

<sup>28</sup> An Old Pioneer [pseud.], *History of the Town of Houlton* (Haverhill, Mass., 1884), p. 19. Authorship is variously attributed to George H. Gilman and Joseph Kendall.

<sup>29</sup> John Fairfield to F. O. J. Smith, Mar. 29, 1832, Maine Historical Society (Portland), Misc. MSS., I.

<sup>30</sup> *Memoirs of Lieutenant-General Scott* (New York, 1864), pp. 343–45.

<sup>31</sup> Webster to Jared Sparks, Mar. 11, 1843, C. H. Van Tyne, ed., *Letters of Daniel Webster* (New York, 1902), pp. 286–87.

<sup>32</sup> This step might have been fruitful two years earlier, as it was three years later, but in the summer of 1839, on the eve of a close election, the events and emotions of the preceding February were too near. David G. Haskins, jr., *Biographical Sketches . . .* (Cambridge, Mass., 1873), pp. 11–12. Diligent search in various collections of manuscripts in Maine failed to shed further light on Forsyth's mission.

appeal for Maine. Britain had, however, another coin and that was the right to ship goods duty-free along the lower St. John to and from the port of the same name. Effective occupation of the Aroostook lands depended on cheap transport, and overland routes, even if much improved, would be a costly substitute for the water route below Fredericton. Understanding of this reality was matched by growing knowledge of the lands north of the St. John that Britain was unwilling to surrender. Beginning in 1841 one observes in Maine a retreat from the more extreme territorial claim. The Temiscouata lands are described as relatively worthless spruceland, unlike the Aroostook valley, and the St. John navigation privilege is hailed as a good bargain for the surrender of territory along the military route.<sup>33</sup> The argument was perfectly sound, but the significance of it is that it prepared Maine people by an intelligent differentiation of values for a retreat that made the Webster-Ashburton Treaty acceptable a year later.

<sup>33</sup> *Report of the Land Agent of the State of Maine* (Augusta, 1841), pp. 22-23.

\* \* \* *Notes and Suggestions* \* \* \*

## Magna Carta

SIDNEY PAINTER\*

MAGNA Carta occupies a unique place in Anglo-American political tradition. What is more it fully deserves this eminence. It contains certain basic ideas and assumptions that have dominated the development of English and American political thought. It has been studied and commented on more often and more ably than any other historical document of European civilization with the possible exception of the New Testament. Certainly every student of medieval England, and they have been both numerous and distinguished, has contributed his mite to the magnificent total of commentaries on Magna Carta. In this brief paper I am following this long-established tradition by adding my own contribution—or as much of it as is consistent with brevity.<sup>1</sup>

The long and distinguished career of Magna Carta as a political document is one of the most striking ironies of history. Its beginning was certainly far from auspicious. It was an agreement between an able but completely unscrupulous and opportunistic king and a small group of his barons. While this group of barons contained some men of maturity and integrity, two of its leaders, Robert fitz Walter and Saher de Quency, were clearly disreputable and a number of others were reckless young men who had just come into their inheritances. Both sides considered the agreement as a mere truce to give them time to prepare for war. The northern barons did not even wait for the completion of the agreement before rushing off to put their castles in order. John promptly called for Poitevin and Gascon troops and dispatched messengers to Rome to persuade the pope to declare the charter invalid. Moreover, the detailed provisions of Magna Carta were for the most part obsolete when they were written. They dealt with a political system that was rapidly dying and they served to hasten its end.

In order to understand this puzzle as to how a truly great political document sprang from a personal and political mire we must glance at the ideas and motives of those who created it. Let us first consider King John. As his

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<sup>1</sup> The paper was read at the dinner meeting of the Mediaeval Academy and the American Historical Association, December 27, 1946. The broad treatment is based in part upon the writer's *Studies in the History of the English Feudal Barony* (Baltimore, 1943).

actions led to the demand for the charter, he was as much its author as those who actually framed its clauses. John was not a pleasant person, but he was an active and able monarch. His political difficulties were for the most part caused by factors that were entirely beyond his control. He was faced with the problem of ruling England by a political system that had lost all touch with economic reality. The feudal system was based on the assumption that the all-important political unit was the fully armed knight. A king's or a baron's importance depended on the number of knights who would follow his banner. By the time John came to the throne this assumption was no longer sound. Mercenary crossbowmen were fully as effective as knights, and knights could be hired and equipped for money. Money had become the source of power. Unfortunately, John found himself at a serious disadvantage under a money economy. The prices of agricultural products were rising rapidly and with them the income of those who could tap directly the profits derived from agriculture. But John's predecessors had reduced the royal demesne to a few scattered remnants. Hence the king's direct share in the rising income from the land was very small. His revenue had to come from his feudal rights or from new devices. John did his best to increase the revenue from scutages, aids, and reliefs, but he met with fierce resistance and the results were pitifully small. These dues were based on the knights' fee, and the knights' fee had no reality as an economic unit. A scutage rate that would yield a reasonable return from rich estates would crush poor ones. John turned to new devices such as the thirteenth, but they met with even more bitter resistance. As a result John spent his reign in trying various ways to get his share of the country's growing income and these efforts led directly to Magna Carta. The details of Magna Carta are largely a commentary on John's methods of raising money.

The baronial opposition to King John was essentially conservative if not reactionary. The barons wanted to preserve the feudal system as they believed it had existed in the times of their ancestors. They wanted to fix their feudal obligations to the crown at the ancient rates and to put an end to John's novel financial expedients. Their attack on the writ *praecipe* shows that they were anxious to stop the expansion of the jurisdiction of the royal courts. The fact that there was no general attempt to undo the legal work of Henry II was probably the result of baronial ignorance of the past. They had no idea how recent that enormous expansion of royal authority was. The assembly that they provided to give approval to the levying of scutages and special aids was a thoroughly feudal body and hence essentially obsolete. The assembly of tenants-in-chief contemplated in Magna Carta would have

included men of insignificant position and excluded some of the chief men of the realm. In fact one of the twenty-five barons chosen to enforce Magna Carta would not have been entitled to a summons as a tenant-in-chief except as a tenant of an honor in the crown's hands. The barons' efforts led to the result that so often attends reactionary movements—they killed the system they were defending. The feudal revenues of the crown were frozen, and future kings were obliged to place all their hope in new, nonfeudal ways of raising money. There is no evidence that the ideal feudal assembly conceived by the barons ever met. The principles on which it rested, tenure and the possession of knights' fees, soon passed into oblivion.

Thus Magna Carta was essentially an expression of feudal custom. But fortunately for the charter's reputation as a political document the feudal system embodied certain basic assumptions that were to outlive it by many centuries. The most important of these was the conception of the *liber homo*, the free, the privileged man. Let me take this occasion to say that when *liber* or any of its derivatives are found in a medieval document the proper form of "privileged" will render the meaning better than will "free." In the original home of English feudal custom, tenth and eleventh century France, the *liber homo* could do anything he pleased or had the power to do as long as he performed his feudal obligations as they were interpreted by his fellow vassals. He was answerable only to the judgment of his peers in his lord's court. In England feudal custom had failed to replace entirely the ancient laws of the land. Hence the English *liber homo* was also subject to that law. Only a baron could claim the right to answer in no court other than one composed of his feudal peers. This idea of the *liber homo* and his privileges finds expression in the thirty-ninth clause of Magna Carta—"No free man shall be taken, or imprisoned, or disseised, or outlawed, or exiled, or in any way destroyed, nor will we go against him or send against him, except by lawful judgement of his peers or by the law of the land."

By this clause the *liber homo* was guaranteed protection of his person and property from arbitrary action. When it was written it was not as airtight as it seemed, for the king's judges were rapidly expanding the law of the land at the expense of the privileges of the *liber homo*. But the privileged men of England soon grasped this fact and within a half century the law could be changed only by statute. As time went on, the rights of privileged men were extended to more and more of the people of England. New rights were added as changing conditions made them needful. Thus this basic feudal idea has remained one of the fundamental political principles of Anglo-American peoples. It is, however, important to notice that this concept is not

essentially democratic and had no slightest democratic element in the time of Magna Carta. The *liberi homini* were the feudal class, the privileged few. Whenever provisions of the charter seem to benefit the ordinary man, a close examination will show that it is his lord's pocketbook that is the real cause of concern. Finally, it is interesting to notice that while this clause is tucked away obscurely in the middle of the charter, it is the first item in the list of Magna Carta clauses found in a contemporary document in the French archives.<sup>2</sup> Someone at the time evidently saw its great importance.

The second basic assumption of the feudal system grew inevitably out of the first. The *liber homo* was free to go where he willed and to serve any man or no man. When he swore fidelity and did homage to a lord, the relationship was essentially contractual. It was assumed that lord and vassals would co-operate for their mutual benefit. The feudal custom governing the relations between a lord and his vassals was worked out by the vassals in their lord's feudal court. The lord could not change these relations of his own accord. Moreover the lord was expected to take no step that was of importance for the welfare of the fief without consulting his vassals. He was expected to seek the counsel of his vassals before choosing a wife for himself or for his eldest son, before embarking on a war, or before going on a long journey. Now this obligation on the part of the lord to seek counsel cannot be found expressed in documents, but the evidence that it was the usual practice is overwhelming. In fact the idea of the necessity of taking counsel was a central feature of medieval government. While it is expressed most clearly in the great monastic rules, it was fully as important in the secular world. In Magna Carta this right of the vassal to be consulted finds expression in the clauses forbidding the levying of scutages or special aids without consulting the assembly described in the charter.

It has been argued that the fact that an assembly of vassals must be consulted does not necessarily imply that its assent must be obtained. I cannot prove from the wording of Magna Carta that its authors intended that the king had to gain the consent of the assembly for these financial exactions. But it seems clear that it was so interpreted by contemporaries. During the regency of William Marshal, Bishop Peter des Roches went so far as to refuse to pay a scutage on the ground that he himself had not consented to it. While the acceptance of his contention probably demonstrates the bishop's power rather than any general belief in the justness of his cause, it certainly seems to indicate the belief that the vassals had to give their consent to unusual feudal exactions. Under Henry III and Edward I this principle became

<sup>2</sup> A. Teulet and J. de Laborde, *Layettes du Trésor des chartes* (Paris, 1863-75), I, 423.



firmly established and was the basis for the power of Parliament. But there is no reason to believe that the barons who dictated Magna Carta had any general ideas such as we express by the slogans "No taxation without consent" and "Government by the will of the governed." They insisted on the right of the king's vassals to participate in the government. It was the king not the barons who brought burghers into Parliament and gave them a voice in such matters. But the basic principle that the king must seek the assent of some council before levying taxes was a vital one to the development of the English constitution.

The third basic assumption of the feudal system was the result of the contractual nature of the relations between a lord and his vassals. A lord could never be an arbitrary, absolute ruler—he was bound by the contract, by the customs forged in his court. He had no power over a vassal other than that given him by this custom. The terms "feudal law" and "feudal contract" when applied to the feudal states of western Europe as a whole are vague generalizations that have little meaning and less utility, but when applied to a single fief they are extremely concrete. Magna Carta was an official expression of important phases of the feudal custom of England. By issuing it John admitted that he was bound by that custom. This point was fully understood by the barons and their successors. During the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries the kings of England were forced to reissue the charter some thirty times. Most of its specific causes were obsolete and forgotten, but it stood as the symbol of the king's subservience to the law.

This raises a most interesting question—did King John have absolutist ideas? I can find no evidence that is very convincing. Master Alexander Cementarius, one of King John's many intimate clerks, seems to have spoken of the royal power in terms that would have pleased James I, but this is feeble proof of John's views. In his own letters to the pope and to his barons he relied as much on the ancient custom of the realm as did his opponents. I suspect that the seeds of absolutist theory existed among the clergy. Caesar of Heisterback's story of the debate among the clerks at the University of Paris as to whether Thomas Becket had owed his chief duty to his king or to the church seems to support this view. But John was brought up in a thoroughly feudal atmosphere and it seems doubtful that such ideas found a place in his mind.

One other feature of feudalism that was embodied in Magna Carta deserves our notice. The feudal system assumed the willingness of the feudal class to resort to war. If a vassal defied the decision of his lord's court, his fellow vassals took up arms to subdue him. If the lord violated custom, his

vassals rose against him. But the line between irresponsible revolt and justified rebellion against violations of feudal custom was hard to draw. A small group that opposed a strong king was likely to suffer as traitors no matter how good their cause might be in theory. The barons wanted machinery set up that could legalize revolt against violations of Magna Carta. The result was the creation of the group of twenty-five who were to watch over the execution of the charter and call for war against John if he violated it. This arrangement was thoroughly feudal in spirit and has strong echoes in later Anglo-American political thought. Both Englishmen and Americans have always had a weakness for the right of rebellion against oppression—when practiced by them instead of against them.

These feudal elements of Magna Carta sprang from Anglo-Norman tradition and the conservatism of the rebel barons. I believe, but I cannot prove, that the clauses expressing them were forged by the most powerful of all English barons, William Marshal, earl of Pembroke. William was a member of the king's party and served as one of the negotiators between him and the barons. He carried the baronial demands to John and urged him to accept them. I am convinced that in the process he shaped the charter. I have two reasons for this belief. If one lays aside the helter-skelter order in which the clauses are arranged, the charter is very ably drawn. Compared to such later documents as the Provisions of Oxford it is incredibly clear and precise. Moreover, it shows an intimate and accurate knowledge of the working of the English royal government. Professor Powicke argues that any baron would have this knowledge. I must take the liberty of doubting this. I can find no one in the rebel camp who seems to me to have had sufficient experience as a royal official. William Marshal had this experience; he went back and forth to the rebel camp while the charter was being drafted, and the husbands of his two eldest daughters were baronial leaders. Then Magna Carta shows remarkably few signs of the bitter personal animosity that had placed most of the rebel barons in opposition to John. It seems to me that only a wise neutral could have brought so statesmanlike a document out of the rebel camp.

In his capacity as negotiator between John and the barons William Marshal had a colleague, Stephen Langton, archbishop of Canterbury. Through him Professor Powicke has given Magna Carta a place in the main current of political thought of the twelfth and thirteenth centuries. This is largely speculation, but I think well-founded speculation. Langton had been a professor of theology at the University of Paris and a cardinal in the curia of the great pope, Innocent III. As a professor he had devoted his energies to

interpreting the work of the two great organizers of Christian thought, Gratian and Peter Lombard. Gratian had taken the confused and often contradictory mass of real and forged papal and conciliar decrees and the works of the fathers and had woven the whole into a consistent system of canon law. Peter Lombard had performed the same service for theology. The ambition of the great popes of the twelfth and thirteenth centuries was to apply these two systems so that the universal church would have one law and one theology. As cardinal, Langton had aided the greatest of these popes in this work. The canon law as drawn up by Gratian and interpreted by his successors governed the internal organization of the church and its relations with the lay world. It governed popes and bishops, kings and nobles. Almost inevitably Langton would believe in the desirability of a similar system of law for purely secular affairs.

Langton arrived in England after his reluctant acceptance by the king to find the barons chafing under John's rule. They had many personal grievances and felt sure that John was continuously violating the ancient customs of the realm, but they had no idea what could be done about it. Langton met with them at St. Albans in the autumn of 1214. He showed them a document which he had probably found in the archepiscopal archives at Lambeth—the Charter of Liberties of Henry I. It must have been a great boon to the conservative-minded barons. Here was some precise information about what had been considered the custom of the realm in their grandfather's time. More important, here was a program and precedent for it. To this extent Langton was clearly the father of Magna Carta. The belief that he saw it as an attempt to establish an orderly system of law in secular politics is, as I have said, speculation, but I agree with Powicke that he probably did.

It is impossible to label any of the details of Magna Carta as Langton's work with any confidence. Powicke suggests that the first clause providing for a privileged church with all its ancient rights was his attempt to connect secular and canon law. But this clause could just as well have been copied from Henry I's charter. One can advance an argument that Langton was responsible for the clause that stated the rights of the *liber homo*, but it is too speculative to carry much weight. That clause appeared first on a list of items from Magna Carta found in the French archives. One might speculate that these were Langton's notes for the charter which he left with his friend Philip Augustus when he passed through France in 1216. Unfortunately the only support for this theory is that there is no evidence against it. Not even a medievalist can go far with that.

If Langton's purpose was to establish the reign of law in the political affairs of his native land, he was eminently successful. The charter he fathered became the first of many expressions of the slowly developing English constitution. It became besides the symbol of the Anglo-American conception of government. Through it the fundamental features of the feudal system passed into our political tradition. I am inclined to believe that my liberal friends may say—"That is what we have been suspecting all along. Your *liber homo* is at last as obsolete as the system that created him." But he has lasted a long, long time—far longer than the *cives Romanus*—and I am not yet ready to abandon him.

# German Historiography during the Second World War: A Bibliographical Survey

FELIX GILBERT\*

GRADUALLY scholarly contacts between nations, interrupted by the war, are being re-established. The retying of intellectual bonds not only means the resumption of the regular exchange of current periodicals and publications; it also necessitates an inquiry into the work done in other countries during the war years, when scholarly pursuits, insofar as they existed at all, were carried on in virtual isolation. Such an inquiry presents particular difficulties with regard to Germany. First of all, it is made difficult by external factors arising out of Germany's defeat. The publication of scholarly journals which, in countries like Italy and France, provides some guidance to the literature of the previous years, has barely been resumed in Germany. Some libraries were destroyed; most of them, after having been removed to different parts of the country for protection against air attacks, have not yet been reassembled. Furthermore, the separation of Germany into four different zones complicates communication. Thus a systematic survey is hardly possible.<sup>1</sup>

The difficulties arising out of these external circumstances are heightened by the fact that Germany has to a certain extent been separated from the outside world since the Nazis came to power. With German intellectual life bound in the strait jacket of Nazi ideology, the value of German scholarly production became increasingly dubious. Thus any attempt to assess the efforts of scholars in Germany during wartime must be more than a factual statement of accomplishments. It must be selective in analyzing the extent to which their writings can be considered to have remained relatively free from Nazi indoctrination and to have maintained the recognized standards of historical scholarship.

How the war affected the impact of Nazi doctrines on German historical scholarship is therefore the first question to be discussed in this survey of the development of German historiography during the Second World War.

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<sup>1</sup> The following article cannot pretend to be more than a preliminary survey. Its intention is only to point out a few interesting features in the development of recent German historiography. I suppose I am right in assuming that copies of most, if not of all the books mentioned in this article were collected by the Library of Congress Mission to Germany, and will soon be available to American scholars.

The question cannot be treated without a brief characterization of the situation existing before the war. It is now well known that the Nazis, in extending their influence over scholarship and science, used much the same methods they employed in their drive for domination of political life. In the latter sphere, having taken possession of a few key positions, they did not immediately invade and reform the traditional administrative organizations and thus antagonize the bureaucracy but established the party organization as a parallel structure, which, at the outset, worked mainly as a control and a check on existing institutions and only gradually penetrated and absorbed them. In similar fashion, with regard to historical scholarship, after the Nazis had appointed a few of their favorites to academic chairs, the "Reichsinstitut für Geschichte des Neuen Deutschlands" under Walter Frank—which organized historical work around the pseudoscientific Nazi concepts of Germanic race superiority and the permanent and creative nature of the folk character—existed side by side with academic scholarship, which clung to the more traditional concepts and methods. The Nazis ran no great risk in granting traditional scholarship a limited right to continued existence. They could be sure that Frank's men would take over the academic chairs vacated in the natural course of events through the disappearance of the older generation. In addition, the inclination of the German historical tradition toward political history and nationalism created a common basis which served to lessen contrasts. Moreover, the removal of all direct political enemies of Nazism from their offices and positions prevented the emergence of any fundamental opposition to the new Nazi history.<sup>2</sup> A survey of German historical periodicals of the Nazi period would probably indicate that traditional scholarship withdrew more and more into detailed studies of remote problems while programmatic statements on the tasks of history and the treatment of problems bearing on concrete political issues were increasingly monopolized by the Nazi school.

An amazingly high number of scholarly publications continued to appear during wartime. Traditional scholarship and the Nazi historical school carried on in uneasy partnership. Perhaps the war even slowed down the process of absorption of traditional scholarship by the Nazis. Most of the younger historians (among whom the Nazis predominated) joined the army, and scholarly enterprises were forced to rely more heavily on the services of older

<sup>2</sup> See the article by O. J. Hammen, "German Historians and the Advent of the National Socialist State," *Journal of Modern History*, XIII (1941), 161-88. I fully realize that the distinction here made between Nazi historians and traditional scholarship is somewhat superficial. It is certainly not meant to imply that all those who in their research maintained traditional standards were anti-Nazi or non-Nazi in their political views.

men. Thus the work of Frank's Reichsinstitut did not expand very much. The volumes *Reich und Reichsfeinde* constituted the chief wartime publication of the Reichsinstitut. They began to appear in 1940. Aside from historical essays on the most diverse topics they contain letters about war experiences from Institut members in the armed forces. The letters on the Russian campaign possess a certain historical significance since they reveal something of the German attitude toward the Russian war and Russia in general. An article by Walter Frank on the Jewish question<sup>8</sup> summarizes the work of the Institut in this field and may have its value, less for the information it contains than for the insight it provides into the pathological state of Germany under the Nazis.

In the realm of traditional academic scholarship, a number of publications started before the war were completed during the war. Of new volumes of the *Monumenta*, the one on the charters of Emperor Henry IV<sup>4</sup> is of particular significance. In modern history, the final volumes of the Stein edition of Botzenhart have appeared, and the two great editions of source material on the policy of the fifties and sixties, *Die Auswärtige Politik Preussens*<sup>5</sup> and *Die Quellen zur Deutschen Politik Österreichs*, are nearly completed. Of other editions of source material, the publication of the correspondence of Willibald Pirckheimer<sup>6</sup> and the completion of the volumes on the life and letters of C. F. Savigny<sup>7</sup> must be mentioned; they are of basic importance for the study of German humanism and romanticism respectively.

Larger works of historical research completed during or on the eve of the war are Srbik's *Deutsche Einheit*, of which volumes three and four, mainly diplomatic history from 1859 to 1866, have appeared, and Stählin's Russian history, which now leads up to the fall of tsarism in the First World War. A few historians of the older generation—Brackmann,<sup>8</sup> Hartung,<sup>9</sup> Hintze,<sup>10</sup> Ritter<sup>11</sup>—have published collections of their essays and shorter studies. The volume of essays by Hintze is particularly important. There is no doubt that

<sup>8</sup> W. Frank, "Zur Geschichte der Judenfrage," *Historische Zeitschrift*, CLXII (1940), 558–66.

<sup>4</sup> *Die Urkunden Heinrichs IV*, 1st part, ed. by D. von Gladiss (Berlin, 1941).

<sup>5</sup> See the review article by L. Bittner, "Das Aktenwerk 'Die Auswärtige Politik Preussens,'" *Historische Zeitschrift*, CLXVI (1942), 57–89.

<sup>6</sup> *Willibald Pirckheimers Briefwechsel*, ed. by E. Reicke, I (*Veröffentlichungen der Kommission zur Erforschung der Geschichte der Reformation und Gegenreformation, Humanistenbriefe*, IV [Munich, 1940]).

<sup>7</sup> *Friedrich Carl von Savigny: ein Bild seines Lebens mit einer Sammlung seiner Briefe*, ed. by A. Stoll, III, *Ministerzeit und letzte Lebensjahre, 1842–1861* (Berlin, 1939).

<sup>8</sup> A. Brackmann, *Gesammelte Aufsätze* (Weimar, 1941).

<sup>9</sup> F. Hartung, *Volk und Staat in der deutschen Geschichte: Gesammelte Abhandlungen* (Leipzig, 1940).

<sup>10</sup> O. Hintze, *Staat und Verfassung: Gesammelte Abhandlungen zur allgemeinen Verfassungsgeschichte*, ed. by F. Hartung (Leipzig, 1941).

<sup>11</sup> G. Ritter, *Lebendige Vergangenheit: Beiträge zur Historischen Selbstbesinnung* (Leipzig, 1944).



with the perspective which only the passage of time provides, Hintze emerges as the most important figure in German historical scholarship of the twentieth century, and this volume contains his fundamental investigations of feudalism, historicism, parliamentarism, etc., which had not previously been easily accessible. Of works on single topics, the book of H. Mitteis, *Der Staat des Hohen Mittelalters*,<sup>12</sup> may be mentioned as presenting the most recent German view of the problems of medieval constitutional history. Furthermore, a number of studies have continued research into Bismarckian diplomacy, which, since the twenties, has been a favorite topic of modern German historians who have developed it into a form of specialization.<sup>13</sup>

In spite of a certain division of labor established between the Nazi school of historical thinking and traditional historical scholarship, which division, to a limited extent, permitted traditional scholarship to continue the cultivation of its rapidly shrinking garden, it was unavoidable that the traditionalists had to take issue with certain fundamental ideas on which the Nazis tried to hinge the whole of European history and which could not be shut out by an escape into specialization. The idea of the exclusively creative force of the Germanic race and the idea of Germany as the organizing factor of Europe, *i.e.*, the concept of the "Reich," shared this pervasive character. There were no open clashes, but the way in which certain special questions were handled by the more traditionally inclined historians implied a rejection of the assumptions underlying these Nazi conceptions. This led to a dispute with the Nazi historians, and more detailed investigations necessarily followed which sometimes resulted in a real addition to our historical knowledge.

Of wartime discussions connected with the idea of the supreme importance of the Germanic race, the dispute over the origin of the German state can be regarded as fruitful in this way. Basically it was a discussion of the events resulting in the seizure of the crown by Arnulf of Carinthia in 887 and of the role and significance of the German tribal dukedoms in this revolution. This scholarly discussion received a certain political slant from the fact that those who considered the tribal dukedoms as definitely constituted organizations and active factors in these events regarded the Germanic element as the creative and decisive force in German history while their opponents laid more stress on the Roman political tradition and therefore the whole Western heritage. The principal protagonists in this discussion were M. Lint-

<sup>12</sup> H. Mitteis, *Der Staat des Hohen Mittelalters: Grundlagen einer vergleichenden Verfassungsgeschichte des Lehnseitalters* (2d rev. ed.; Weimar, 1944).

<sup>13</sup> See, for instance, W. Schürsler, *Deutschland zwischen Russland und England: Studien zur Aussenpolitik des Bismarckschen Reiches* (Leipzig, 1940), or the study by O. Stolberg-Wernigerode, on Bismarck's ambassador in Paris, *Robert Graf von der Goltz, 1863-1869* (Oldenburg, 1942).

zel, who advocated the importance of the Germanic element, and G. Tellenbach, who represented the view that Arnulf acted mainly on his own, and that the German dukedoms originated only in the tenth century, created from above by a Reich aristocracy, concerning whose development Tellenbach's investigations are a valuable contribution.<sup>14</sup>

Because of the Nazi tendency to ascribe all productive events in history to the Germanic race, the Reformation—and Luther in particular—remained a lively issue in the historical debate. Against the Nazi view that Luther was really the founder of a new German religion and that a great portion of his importance was the stimulus which he gave to German nationalism, G. Ritter had already protested before the war, and in various books which came out during the war he restated his view that Luther's chief concern was of a religious nature and that the political consequences of his doctrine were merely byproducts, beyond Luther's conscious and original aim.<sup>15</sup>

The Nazi idea of Germany as the organizing power in Europe placed the concept of the Reich in the foreground of historical interest and made it fashionable among German historians. The number of books on whose title pages the word "Reich" figures prominently is legion. This trend continued, perhaps even increased, during the war.<sup>16</sup> In some of the books concerned with the problem of the Reich, for instance in F. Bock's *Reichsidee und Nationalstaaten*,<sup>17</sup> the author tries to adjust his work to the prevailing fashion by some general remarks at the beginning and at the end, but Bock's volume is in reality a rather pedestrian though thorough diplomatic history of the relations between the emperor, England, and France in the first half of the thirteenth century. On the other hand, many of these studies are not really historical investigations, but political discussions, based on historical material, of the meaning and implications of the concept of the Reich. They oscillate, in somewhat slow adjustment to the military progress of Nazi Germany through Europe, between considering the Reich as the root of Mitteleuropa and exalting it as a stabilizing order for the whole of Europe.<sup>18</sup> These studies

<sup>14</sup> See G. Tellenbach, *Königtum und Stämme in der Werdezeit des deutschen Reiches (Quellen und Studien zur Verfassungsgeschichte des deutschen Reiches im Mittelalter und in der Neuzeit)*, III (1939), and *Die Entstehung des deutschen Reiches* (1940); M. Lintzel, *Die Anfänge des deutschen Reiches* (1942). See also the articles by Tellenbach and Lintzel in *Historische Zeitschrift*, CLXV (1942), CLXVI (1942), and the literature given there. G. Barraclough in his *Outline of German History* (Oxford, 1946)), makes extensive use of the most recent German literature on the Middle Ages.

<sup>15</sup> See G. Ritter, *Die Weltwirkung der Reformation* (Leipzig, 1942), and his enlarged and completely revised Luther biography (1943).

<sup>16</sup> The article by G. Krueger, "Um den Reichsgedanken," *Historische Zeitschrift*, CLXV (1942), 457–71, can serve as an introduction to the most recent literature on this topic.

<sup>17</sup> F. Bock, *Reichsidee und Nationalstaaten vom Untergang des alten Reiches bis zur Kündigung des deutsch-englischen Bündnisses im Jahre 1341* (Munich, 1943).

<sup>18</sup> I mention here F. von Cochenhausen, *Die Verteidigung Mitteleuropas* (Jena, 1940); *Das*

frequently contain sharp criticisms of opposing ideologies, like that of the balance of power, or call forth a defense of such systems by more or less hidden opponents of Nazism.<sup>19</sup> But the interest in this problem led also to serious historical investigations into the reality of the meaning of the Reich in the Middle Ages. In this connection the political ideas of Nicolaus Cusanus were carefully studied.<sup>20</sup> Perhaps the most interesting result was a rather detailed investigation of what the Reich represented in the centuries of its decline, from the sixteenth to the eighteenth century,<sup>21</sup> and it can probably be said that these studies shed some new and significant light on the strength of the idea of a common European order in a period which seemed dominated by the concept of *raison d'état* and the emergence of the national state.

Only one aspect of the picture of German historiographical activity during wartime emerges if one takes into account solely scholarly production along lines of previous development. The war also brought new elements into the picture. History was placed in the service of the war, *i.e.*, while works of pure historical scholarship decreased, increasing attention was given to half political, half historical problems connected with the war. Since Nazi war policy was to a large extent patterned after the aims of Nazi ideology, this "war service" of German historiography meant an increased preoccupation with topics in which previously only Nazi historians had specialized. One can probably say that the chief historical problem brought into the foreground by the war was that of German expansion in Europe. This general problem may be divided into its constituent elements: (a) The fate of the *Volksdeutsche*, *i.e.*, the history of the German minorities in Europe, received increasing attention. (b) The history of the Germanic countries in the North and of German colonization in southeastern Europe was studied with great zeal. (c) Finally, the whole of eastern Europe, as an area of potential expansion of the German frontier, became a favorite field for historians. For the purpose of studies in these fields, historical research institutes were founded at various universities—for instance, in Greifswald a "Schwedisches Institut," in Passau the "Institut zur Erforschung des deutschen Volkstums im Süden

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*Reich und Europa* (Leipzig, 1941), a symposium with contributions by F. Hartung, Th. Mayer, F. Roerig, Carl Schmitt; the views of the Frank circle are stated in K. R. Ganzer, *Das Reich als europäische Ordnungsmacht* (Hamburg, 1941).

<sup>19</sup> For instance, P. R. Rohden, *Die klassische Diplomatie von Kaunitz bis Metternich* (Leipzig, 1939).

<sup>20</sup> See the article by G. Kallen, "Die politische Theorie im philosophischen System des Nikolaus von Cues," *Historische Zeitschrift*, CLXV (1942), 246–77, and E. Böhnerstaett, *Kirche und Reich im Schrifttum des Nikolaus von Cues* (Heidelberg, 1939).

<sup>21</sup> See Erik Wolf, "Idee und Wirklichkeit des Reiches im deutschen Rechtsdenken des 16. und 17. Jahrhunderts" in *Reich und Recht in der deutschen Philosophie*, ed. by K. Lorenz, I (Stuttgart, 1943), 33–168.

und Südosten," and several institutes of eastern European history. All these organizations published series of monographs concerned with the history of their areas.

The scholarly value of the studies concerned with the Scandinavian countries and eastern Europe is low. The studies on eastern Europe are mostly vitiated by a strong nationalistic bias, emphasizing the significance of the German element in the development of this region. The works on the Scandinavian countries are intended to make the German public acquainted with the results of Scandinavian historical scholarship; they cannot be considered works of original historical research.<sup>22</sup>

The studies of the *Volksdeutsche* also have a strong nationalistic bias. The whole problem does not deserve the intensive attention which was given to it by the Nazis and by German historiography in wartime. But, in a limited way, the field has historical interest, and certain studies—for example, those on the methodological aspects of the subject,<sup>23</sup> and on the role of the *Volksdeutsche* in historical events like the revolution of 1848<sup>24</sup>—will be of use to those who concern themselves with the historical aspects of the nationalities problem in Europe.

The most important results were derived from the increased interest in southeastern Europe. Of course, mainly as the result of the work of Srbik, a revision of German history in favor of the *Grossdeutsche Idee* had already started before the war, even before the Nazis came to power, and during the war this tendency became still more pronounced. A figure like Prince Eugen became a hero of German history with the German advance into the Balkans and was discussed in numerous books, articles, and dissertations.<sup>25</sup> Much work was concentrated upon the history of Austria. One of the main research subjects was the part played by Austria in the revolt against Napoleon. It has probably been proved that, as far as the liberation movement is concerned, past historical research has been inclined to underestimate the part of Austria and her leading statesmen such as Stadion.<sup>26</sup>

<sup>22</sup> For instance, U. Noack, *Nordische Frühgeschichte und Wikingerzeit* (Munich, 1941), which is vol. I of his *Geschichte der nordischen Völker*. See also his article, "Die Entwicklung der norwegischen Geschichtsschreibung," *Historische Zeitschrift*, CLXV (1942), 313-34, 528-52. See also articles in *Kieler Blätter*, a scholarly periodical founded during the war.

<sup>23</sup> See H. Hausscherr, "Verfassungstypen deutscher Volksgruppen im Auslande," *Historische Zeitschrift*, CLX (1939), 35-78.

<sup>24</sup> See J. Pfitzner, "Die Grenz- und Auslandsdeutsche Bewegung des Jahres 1848," *ibid.*, CLX (1939), 308-23.

<sup>25</sup> V. Bibl, *Prinz Eugen* (Vienna, 1941); W. Elze, *Prinz Eugen: sein Weg, sein Werk, und Englands Verrat* (Stuttgart, 1941); H. Kretschmayr, *Prinz Eugen* (Munich, 1941).

<sup>26</sup> See H. Roessler, *Österreichs Kampf um Deutschlands Befreiung: die deutsche Politik der nationalen Führer Österreichs, 1805-15* (2 vols., Hamburg, 1940). The Nazi attitude of the author does not inspire full confidence in his results.

It may be added that, as was to be expected, the war produced a spate of works on questions of military history and on the connection between war and politics. The book by Huber, *Heer und Staat*, although rather more of a treatise on political science than on history, may be mentioned as a fundamental discussion of this subject.<sup>27</sup> The special relation which existed in Prussia and Germany between political and military leadership has been taken up in books by H. O. Meisner and F. Hartung.<sup>28</sup> Finally the great biography of Seeckt by Rabenau,<sup>29</sup> based on Seeckt's papers, is of fundamental importance for the question of how the continuity of the Prussian military tradition was maintained under the Weimar Republic and how the Reichswehr became a dominant political factor during the twenties.

In evaluating German historiographical activities during wartime the fact of the continuous existence of a varied historical production should not be taken as an indication that it will be easy for German historiography to regain a place in the world of international scholarship. Quite aside from the direct intellectual devastation wrought by the Nazis and from the difficulties created by external circumstances, there are a number of factors which place the revival of German historiographical activity under a severe handicap. Even before the Nazi period German historiography had become slightly obsolete in its exclusive concentration on political and intellectual history with its attendant neglect of problems arising out of a study of social and economic developments. This refusal to investigate the very fields which, during the last decades, have lent new vitality to the historiography of other countries continued and grew more adamant during the Nazi period. Moreover, the war made serious inroads into the generation of younger historians, and the chances that those who survived will be able to revive German historiography are diminished by the fact they are themselves mainly Nazi products.<sup>30</sup> Furthermore, very few representative historians of the pre-Nazi period are left to form a bridge between the present and the better tradition of the past and to inculcate sounder methods into the new generation. With a few exceptions, that whole generation of German historians has died during

<sup>27</sup> E. R. Huber, *Heer und Staat* (2d. rev. ed.; Hamburg, 1943).

<sup>28</sup> H. O. Meisner, *Der Kriegsminister 1814-1914, ein Beitrag zur militärischen Verfassungsgeschichte* (Berlin, 1940). F. Hartung, *Verantwortliche Regierung, Kabinette und Nebenregierungen im konstitutionellen Preussen*.

<sup>29</sup> F. von Rabenau, *Aus meinem [sic] Leben* (1938) and *Aus seinem Leben* (1940), a two-volume biography of Hans von Seeckt.

<sup>30</sup> A few titles of recent German dissertations, picked at random, are: "Ein deutscher Grenzlandkampf im ausgehenden Mittelalter: die Abwehrbewegung deutschen Volkstums gegen Burgund"; "Die Germanen im Urteil des Bonifazius und in ihrer Wirkung auf seine Missionspraxis"; "Auswärtige Politik als Rassen und Raumproblem gesehen an der Ostpolitik Bismarcks"; "Die innenpolitische Auseinandersetzung des 'Vorwärts' und der Staatsgewalt im Weltkrieg."

the last few years. The list of names of those who died recently includes E. Brandenburg, K. Brandi, C. Erdmann, H. Fincke, O. Hoetzsch, O. Hintze, E. Marcks, H. Oncken, and K. Stählin. It would appear that German historiography will have to make an entirely new beginning the results of which will hardly become apparent within the near future.<sup>31</sup>

<sup>31</sup> I may here perhaps refer to my chapter on "The Intellectual Situation in Germany after the War," in the symposium *Germany after Defeat*, ed. by E. Mason and F. Neumann (shortly to be published by the Oxford University Press), which discusses this problem within a broader framework. It has just recently been announced that, in the near future, the *Historische Zeitschrift* will reappear, under the editorship of L. Dehio.

## Henry Adams Reports on a German Gymnasium

HAROLD DEAN CATER\*

IN September, 1858, after graduating from Harvard University, Henry Adams sailed with a group of friends for Germany. Adams had selected that country as his destination because he wanted to learn something about the mystical subject of "civil law." Just what this particular brand of law might be neither he nor his father, nor any of his friends, knew precisely. However a good German university was supposed to be the proper place to find out all about it. The names of several German universities were at that time compounded with the very best the world could offer in scholarship. One of Adams' favorite Harvard professors, James Russell Lowell, knew this to be a fact from his own experiences at one or two of them, and he urged Adams to finish his formal education by a similar pursuit of knowledge. As most serious readers well know, Adams explains in his *Education of Henry Adams* that he succeeded in acquiring no more education in Germany than he ever did anywhere else. To some extent he was correct. When he arrived in Berlin he did not know even the German language. Here was the greatest of obstacles to a grasp of either a lecture or a textbook. Nevertheless he dauntlessly matriculated at the University of Berlin and attempted to learn the language by ear and by private study. Failing utterly, he left the university and in January, 1859, he enrolled in the Friedrichs-Wilhelm Werdersches Gymnasium, which was a public school for boys averaging fourteen years of age.<sup>1</sup> Here he hoped to find the incentive necessary to a systematic mastery of the language. He had scarcely entered upon this new phase of his career when his brother Charles wrote him from Boston requesting a series of articles which he was certain he could have published in Boston and New York newspapers. Henry liked the suggestion and planned to write them in the form of letters to no one in particular.<sup>2</sup> But within the next few months Henry, having already lost inspiration in civil law, lost all interest in a formal study of the language. Even the very atmosphere of the city of Berlin began to

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<sup>1</sup> Harold Dean Cater, ed., *Henry Adams and His Friends* (Boston, 1947), p. xxv.

<sup>2</sup> Cf. Worthington C. Ford, ed., *Letters of Henry Adams, 1858-1891* (Boston, 1930), pp. 13 ff.



pall on his sensitive nature. Travel and a quickening interest in the world of art began to lure him on to other cities. On April 1 he backed gracefully away from the whole Berlin project and within a few days had set himself up in the much more fascinating city of Dresden. Here he gathered together his notes and his rough manuscript and completed the two following letters. Immediately he was disappointed with them, and he wrote his brother that he had put them away in a trunk where they would "remain undisturbed until when years are over, I shall have occasion perhaps to use them."<sup>3</sup> Within the next few months he had written a series of letters which his brother found to be of considerable interest to editors in both New York and Boston. Henry was probably wise in hiding these two letters, for his career as a writer undoubtedly profited by a fresh start. Also, because of our present interest in German education along democratic lines, these two letters are probably more interesting now than they would have been in 1859. At any rate they remained hidden among a stray portion of Adams' private papers until 1941.<sup>4</sup> Aside from whatever interest they may have in German educational methods, they are a further documentation of the *Education*, and they throw an interesting light on the German character in general.

## I

MY DEAR—

You know how I came abroad to endeavor to add a little to a very indifferent stock of knowledge, and how I settled myself in the city of Berlin with the intention of joining the University there and pursuing the interesting study of the Roman law. You know how utterly disgusted I became in the course of two months at my slow progress in the German language and how in a fit of despair I determined to dismiss teacher and exercise book, and break out a new road for myself. If there is anyone who would not despair after two months of the German language and of the city of Berlin, he must either be very pleasantly situated or else be a genius. Common mortals feel as though whatever little doubt they may have formerly had as to whether they were stupid or not, is now unquestionably settled. That they are not only blockheads but worse blockheads than other people, and the best thing for them to do is to go home and remain there in happy ignorance of the existence of work too great for their abilities.

In this state of mind I snatched at the idea which was proposed to me by an American gentleman, of joining a school; a Gymnasium as the Prussians call it; and by my friend's assistance I succeeded in carrying the plan out and was entered as a scholar on the books of what I will call the Joachims-Werdersches Gymnasium, at about the first of January in the year 1859. And now having finished my course there and learned as much as I could, I sit down to write to you the results of my school-experience so far as they relate to the Prussian schools, and to give to you as well as I can, an idea of the manner in which that famous system is carried on. I am not going to trouble it very deeply, and do not feel sure that all my ideas are right, but as the Prussian school-system has been praised on good, very

<sup>3</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 36.

<sup>4</sup> The originals are now in the Houghton Library, Harvard University.

good authority as the best in the world, perhaps you may feel some little interest in reading my experiences in it though they don't pretend to be authority at all. The celebrated individual who carried a brick into the market-place as a specimen of the house he had to sell, ought not to be laughed at in these days when science builds up a world out of a fossil bird's-claw. If you choose, you may be able to extract some actually definite ideas about this famous edifice even from the brick which I had the pleasure to see, and now am going to tell you about.

To begin with a word or two about the general matter. Without undertaking to give you an idea of the different kinds of Prussian schools, which would fill a book, I will just mention that a Gymnasium is intended to educate those boys who intend to go on through the University. There are a variety of other schools which only teach the more utilitarian branches; such are the Realschulen. There are other schools still to teach the trades, parallel institutions apparently to the great Universities. Then there are still other schools, which have been under most rigid direction from Government; to teach the teachers, or rather to educate teachers. But to acknowledge the truth, all my study over "das preussische Schulwesen" in numerous volumes, and all my inquiries, never gave me a very exact idea of all the many distinctions between the different kinds of Prussian schools. Many of these schools run together and their paths cross each other. Then again many of the distinctions are from Statutes passed since 1848, during the reactionary times. But a very short time before I arrived in Berlin the reactionary King Friedrich-Wilhelm IV was compelled to give up the Government and go to Italy to recover his health or perhaps rather his sanity, for he was not capable of governing. At his departure his brother became Prince Regent. A quiet but tremendous revolution took place. The old Mantuffel ministry went out and a new and more liberal one stood in their places and took the lead in reform. An unpacked House of Deputies was elected, more truly representing the people and their wants, than any that had sat there for years before. Freedom of thought and of speech was restored. Men say that the Prussian people have a different look, a different tone now from what they had a year ago. Among the many reforms that the new Ministry had to bring in, that of the schools was and is now one of the most important, for it had been one of the greatest efforts of the former system to create such a school discipline that no future generation would attempt to repeat the experiment of 1848, and if such an experiment was repeated, to have a body of young men who would stand by the King and Loyalty under all circumstances.

The Prussian system is therefore now in a state of transition, and the old lines are gradually changing so that it is hard to say what they really are. The contest between "Humanismus" and "Reallismus" is turning in favor of the latter. That is, a classical education is now not so necessary as formerly. Development is freer, and more removed from the oversight of the state and church, and it is to be hoped that a new generation will grow up, capable of appreciating, conducting and maintaining the principles of Constitutional Government.

The school to which I was admitted was, then, a Gymnasium. In it the whole course from the beginning of Grammar, Mathematics, Geography and so forth, up to the higher branches of Geometry, Physics, but I think *not* Metaphysics, the more difficult Latin and Greek authors, such as Tacitus and Thucydides, Quintilian and Plato, and so forth, was taught, including a vast number of Bible chapters learned by memory, French and even Hebrew. The course therefore, as you see, is a very long one. Properly it is one of eight years, though a boy may enter an advanced class, or may pass only six months in one class, or on the other

hand may be eighteen months or even two years in accomplishing the work of one. The first and oldest Class is called the Prima, the second, the Secunda, and so on down to the Sexta which is the youngest. The Secunda and Tertia however were divided into the Ober- and Unter-Secunda and Tertia, and the Tertia was yet further subdivided into rooms: Ober-Tertia A and B, and Unter-Tertia A and B, and as I had expressed the wish to make as young a class as possible, I was placed in the Ober-Tertia B.

The arrangement of teachers was somewhat complicated. In all there were twenty-four, including the Director and the singing-masters. The Director had the control of the whole school and gave instruction principally to the Prima. There were ten Ordinarii, as they are called. The Ordinarius has the special control of one room, or in some cases of a whole class in two rooms; so the Ober-Tertia B in which I sat, had an Ordinarius of its own; but the Prima A and B had only one Ordinarius for both. The duties of the Ordinarius were the same as those of an under-master usually are in a large school. But the Ordinarius of a class taught other Classes as well as his own. For instance, in the Ober-Tertia B there were forty-four boys; all learned the same lessons and recited at the same time. When the morning school began at eight o'clock, perhaps it was with a mathematical recitation, in which case the Ordinarius of the Prima called us to order, directed the recitation, and when the nine o'clock bell rang, left the room. Then an interval of some ten minutes followed, during which no master was present and the boys ate their breakfast and did what they pleased. Unless they made an outrageous noise they were not interfered with. Then perhaps there was a Latin or Greek recitation, and our own Ordinarius would conduct it, also disappearing when the ten o'clock bell rang, and leaving us to ourselves. In summer however it is customary at ten o'clock in the morning and three in the afternoon for the boys to be all ordered down into the yard so that they and the rooms may get a little fresh air. But after the ten or fifteen minutes the recitations began again. Perhaps it was French, or Ovid, in which case a teacher who was not Ordinarius of any class, heard it. Then at eleven there was another interval, followed by another recitation, and at twelve o'clock we were dismissed till two. On Tuesday, Wednesday and Saturday afternoons there was no school. On other days there were two more recitations lasting from two till four o'clock. The Ordinarius therefore, although he had the immediate control of matters relating to his Class, yet was not by any means always with it. Out of the twenty-six hours that our Ordinarius taught every week, twenty of them were employed in his own Class, for he taught us Greek, Latin, German, History and Religion. But this was a large proportion. There were thirty-two hours of school every week, and of these thirty-two hours some of the Classes were only six or eight under their Ordinarius. The Prima only three. Six different teachers gave instruction to the Ober-Tertia B. No teacher taught more than twenty-six hours in one week; some of the younger ones as little as four and five.

The number of scholars belonging to the Gymnasium this Semester was four hundred and fifty-seven. In my own room there were forty-four, of whom the oldest was nineteen, the youngest ten years. The average ought to be about fourteen. They sat in nine rows, but the arrangement of places seemed to me needlessly clumsy and confused. In the first place came the Class arrangement which was determined by the semi-annual examinations, and was used when no other was in order, and by the Prima and Secunda always. Then there were five other arrangements for different recitations, which were determined by "extemporalia"

that were written in Latin and Greek once every week, in French once in two weeks, and in the others variably. So in the course of a day the boys would change their places four or five times, and every week had a total change and grand confusion in every study besides. But as there was nothing but a satchel of books to be moved, it did not cause so much disturbance as it would in an American school where there are desks and where each boy is expected to have a small library of his own. Moreover as the best scholars were always on the front benches and the poorest on the benches behind, the changes did not alter much the general arrangement. The boy who stood first in the Class arrangement was called the *Primus*, and had some small duties and honors of his own. I myself had a fixed place on the third bench which was never changed.

The examinations took place every six months and in these schools there is no such thing as shirking them and going on from Class to Class without knowing what it is all about. They must be faced and they are pretty severe. No boy can pass from one Class to another without going through an examination, and I could not find any reason why a stupid or lazy boy might not in this way pass his whole life in the school and die at last at an advanced age before he had come to the *Prima*. Perhaps the year's military service to which every Prussian at twenty is by law compelled, may have something to do with this. At all events they seemed to get through the trial in some way; perhaps because the system is so perfect that it can be warranted to drive the necessary ideas into the head of anyone, no matter how hard or how soft that head may be.

This system is certainly as sure to teach what is required as a system can be. The instruction is mostly oral. As the whole class recites together and recites every hour, there is no studying done in school, for a recitation usually requires all a boy's quickness and the masters for the most part were very ready to see if one's thoughts were wandering. The questions flew about in every direction, and inattention was pretty sure to be rewarded by having to copy and learn by memory at home all that had been talked about. The great point insisted on by the Board of Education and carried out faithfully by most of the teachers was this quickness and attention, as at once the result and the cause of a thorough acquaintance with the subject. This seemed to me to be the main principle of the tuition, and the whole school arrangement seemed adapted to carry it out. The memory too was forced to a very high point not only by this daily exercise but by other long tasks. So the elocution which one would suppose in a state like Prussia to be a great point in education, had degenerated into a mere loading of the memory; and the boys used to pride themselves not on gestures or voice, for they never moved a muscle nor varied a tone, but on repeating without mistakes long passages from history or poetry. I have heard them gabble off extracts of this sort with hardly the least mistake or even hesitation, for half an hour, only pausing to catch their breath; and they did this too of their own accord apparently, for the master often interrupted them before they were through and dispensed with what was left unrecited; and they had their own choice what to learn. There was but one hour a week devoted to this exercise, and it was seldom that more than three boys spoke in this hour.

But the hours in school were not confined merely to reciting. Our history lessons for instance were nothing but a collection of dates to be committed to memory, but the teacher lectured to us as we learned them, and filled up the skeleton with all sorts of illustrations. At one time when we were engaged upon the thirty years war he not only read extracts from its history, but occupied six

or eight of the history hours in causing the boys to read extracts from Schiller's *Wallenstein* aloud, allotting the different characters to different boys, while the rest followed the reading, book in hand. Again in the history of Frederic the Great's campaigns he read to us extracts of poems relating to the battles; showed us coins and medals of the times; and in several cases selected from the scholars who were to soon take their turn in elocution, certain ones who should have for a subject the lives of the different celebrated men whom we were reading about. The boys were eager to do it, and executed their work in a manner that most masters whom I ever saw, would consider as wonderfully praiseworthy.

The extemporalia too were peculiar and make a very prominent point in the German system as it is known in America. Once a week the master would read to the room for an hour, sentences in German which the boys must write in Latin or Greek as the case might be. The words were commonly taken from Caesar or Xenophon which we were then reading, and the constructions were examples of what we had already been studying in the Grammar, or what had been especially called to our notice. Besides this, the boys were very seldom at loss for words, for from the Sexta they had been drilled in committing a Latin Vocabulary to memory and were expected to know it all, including the verbs, their conjugations and irregularities and their compounds. To me of course it was impossible, and I sheltered myself behind my ignorance of German.

The study of religion was another peculiarity. The Prussian Government seems to think that nothing will give a boy religious ideas so well as learning psalms and hymns, and really for teachers of the Elementary schools the principal point was that they should know some fifty of these by memory. But besides this, and, I hope, of a little more practical use, there were lectures and other exercises adapted to every class, and two hours in the week were occupied in this branch. This is insisted upon by the Government most strongly, and as usual, with most exact directions and limitations.

To come at last to the school-discipline; the police, so to speak, of the institution. This, like everything else, is all regulated in the most careful way by Government. There are no rewards to speak of. The *Primus* of each half year gets, as I was told, a prize of a book or something of the sort; of no great account even to them. I have already mentioned the arrangement in respect to rank. There were no monthly reports or weekly. No "approbations" and no "censures." Only at the end of each quarter-year, I believe, a so-called "*Censur*" or Report was given out, which told how the scholar stood in each study, whether well or otherwise, and to which were added any remarks that seemed to the master appropriate to the case. This report must be signed by the parent or guardian and returned at a fixed time.

In regard to punishments, as in regard to rewards, it seems to be rather the moral effect that is sought, than anything else. As there is no attempt made to bribe boys to do well, so the fear of bodily pain is not used to frighten them into it. Only in the extremest cases and under the greatest reservations is it permitted to the teachers to use corporal punishment. Even then the two highest classes, I think, were not subjected to it. I asked the boys how it was about this and they informed me that it did happen occasionally, and that while I was there a case had occurred. Two scholars had thrown dirt at a horse-rider in the Thier-Garten. They were in some way identified and complained of. According to my informant the punishment was performed by the school-servant, or janitor, in the privacy of his department and bore a strong resemblance to the English operation of "hors-

ing." As the boys always told me the truth and never attempted, or seemed to conceive of, embroidering, I believe them here as well as elsewhere. There was another case, too, of a boy in one of the upper classes, which shows how little corporal punishment is used. He had been sent down into a lower Class to remain an hour as a punishment, but started to leave the room before the hour was over. The master stopped him, and ordered him to take his seat again, using the "du" in addressing him. The boy obeyed slowly, and remarked as he turned round, "Pray speak a little more respectfully." The master walked up to him and took hold of the breast collar of his coat with both hands as if to shake him, whereat the boy seized the master's wrists. As it is, I believe, against the law for a sub-master to use violence in any case, he merely ordered the boy to take his seat, and remain while he called the Director. But the Director was not in his room, and meanwhile the young gentleman coolly walked out, passed the master and went up the stairs where he stood at the top with his hands in his pockets and watched the infuriated teacher below. Of course the affair in fifteen minutes was known to the whole school and created great excitement. The teachers deliberated, and at last it was resolved that he might take his choice between apologizing publicly and leaving the school. At first he refused to apologise at all, but finally in obedience to his father's direction, he walked up to the teacher one afternoon and informed him that he took back what he had said. I believe this was the end of the matter. Of course the story is as the scholars told it, and how much the teacher's account may vary I cannot say. But the words and the action in the school-room are indubitable, and an apology would seem a very slight punishment for it. Perhaps the council of teachers may have thought the boy in the right, as they did in another case of refusal to obey, where the boy received no punishment at all. But in one case of a whole room's rebelling, which occurred before I came, the class was decimated; every tenth boy dismissed from the school. My Gymnasium had, so I was told, quite a reputation for this sort of thing. Expulsion is reserved for incorrigible cases, but the subject is allowed to enter any other school. Sometimes I was told that a dose of corporal punishment preceded expulsion, which would be adding insult to injury with a vengeance.

The ordinary punishment for misdemeanors was either degradation or a "note." To degrade a scholar was to send him down from his own room into a lower class for an hour or more. This occurred frequently. A "note" was a pretty severe punishment in the grade of punishments, yet at worse I could not see that its positive results were anything more than a scolding. Suppose a scholar misbehaves himself; the monitor is directed to write a note against his name with the cause of the punishment. The Ordinarius who examines the monitor's book daily, sees the note and shakes his head at the culprit. The Director who comes in every Saturday to receive the weekly report, sees the note and shakes *his* head at the boy, adding perhaps a word or two of warning. Then in the remarks on the quarterly Censur the notes had their weight; but this was all. There were no "censures" for eight notes, nor whippings for twelve. Indeed to give so many would destroy the moral effect of the punishment, and this effect was quite strong as it was. For the youngest classes there were also, I was told, good notes and fractions of notes.

The smaller punishments were principally what is called "Straf-arbeiten," or extra work to be done out of school. These were flung round by dozens. One poor little stupid fellow was never without them. To write a translation of half a dozen paragraphs of Xenophon; learn a page of history dates; copy a tense of a Greek



verb out in all numbers and persons and commit it to memory; these were the Strafarbeiten. And a recitation seldom passed that more or less were not given out. But even in regard to these as well as to the severer punishments, the teacher must take care, for the laws are exact and the appeal to the Ministry is ready and plain.

That the masters have very extensive authority over the boys; that they are in a manner made police-men and especially directed to look round all the street corners and spy out all violation of ordinances on the part of the boys, such as throwing snow-balls or smoking cigars in the street, is a lamentable fact which I hope they pay as little attention to as possible. As a school-boy myself, I cannot help thinking that such things are not altogether dignified or honorable. Nevertheless the directions of the Prussian Board of Education not only direct this, but promise particular favor to the teacher who distinguishes himself in it.

The only other peculiarity which I recollect was the Gymnasium as we understand the word. Twice a week, on two of the three afternoons, the "Turnanstalt," the place for gymnastic exercises, was open to the boys, and I think it was required that they should go through a course here, though of this I am not certain. I only know that every school has such an institution in connection with it, and that the boys go there and learn the usual exercises.

From this account of the arrangement of the school, which is as particular and accurate as I can make it, you can get an idea of how it is conducted. Certainly it differs very considerably from anything I ever saw at home. There is a completeness and thoroughness about it that justifies any amount of praise. The length of the course gives ample time to carry the system out, and the peculiar kind of tuition makes it absolutely certain that the scholars must learn what is set before them. You will see at once how this continual watchfulness, this forcing of the memory, this combination of a whole school into one class, must hammer ideas into the head of the stupidest.

I began by saying that I was not going to trouble this subject very deeply. I do not want to confuse the simple description I have tried to give, by any reflexions of my own on the merits of the matter. And yet perhaps it may be worth while for me to give you an idea of the practical result of all this as it struck me. The remark of an Englishman, I believe, about the German schools was to the effect that one learned the most in them, and got the worst education in the world. It seemed to me somewhat so. But the great fault that I found with them was just the principle on which they depend. They cramp the individual horribly. The forty-four boys in my room were a unit, or if they were not they were to be made so. They must develop themselves in the way that was opened to them. The school was a mill, and out of it men were produced with certain characters, or rather a certain character, that had been ground into them for eight years, until it could never come out. The fact that human nature varies, that one sort of development suits one mind and a wholly different one suits another; the fact, in short, which I believe is in all the world only in America practically carried out, that each individual ought to walk that path for which God has best fitted him, and not that which man's regulations have planned out for him; this was wholly ignored.

Of course you can take my reflections for what you think they are worth. As I said before, they don't pretend to be authority at all.



## II

MY DEAR—

You may or may not have succeeded in getting a clear idea or two out of my former letter, which was taken up merely with the bare facts relating to the arrangement of my Gymnasium. I did not think it worth while to draw comparisons between these arrangements and those of our own schools at home, because you can do it just as well for yourself. But now I will try to give you an idea of what the school really was like, and what sort of creatures German boys are. Of course you cannot expect to get a very clear idea, but such as it is, I'll give you the best I can.

At quarter before eight o'clock, then, on the 6th of January, in the dusk and gloom of a Berlin morning, as I recollect them, I presented myself as previously ordered, at the apartments of the Director of the Joachims-Werdersches Gymnasium, and under his auspices was introduced to my new school-mates. He conducted me into a room, over the door of which was inscribed "Ober-Tertia B," and I suddenly found myself face to face with some fifty boys, who rose as we entered and stood grinning at me with a determined energy, which I, resolved not to be outdone, could only rival, but not beat. At a motion of the Director's hand they took their seats again, and he proceeded to introduce me in a little speech, which was very kind and informal, and set me at once at my ease. Then a seat was allotted to me, and when I was settled, the Director retired, and the recitation which we had interrupted was resumed.

My first impressions were anything but favorable. I had known only the luxury of our Boston schools. I recollected the large, high rooms; the perfect ventilation; the rows of black-boards; the maps; the globes; the desks that were so polished and comfortable, and that to have cut would have been a capital crime. I remembered the regard for health and neatness that I had been accustomed to see. I remembered the boys whom I used to go to school with; their animal spirits; their washed faces, and their clean shirts. Instead of all this, I found here the very opposites. A room neither high nor large. Air which it would be a compliment to call vile. One small blackboard in the corner. Nothing on the walls but coats and caps. Instead of separate desks and seats, only nine rows of benches and just room enough to allow for writing on the narrow board that served for desks. These too cut and ink-stained till they had lost all color but an indefinite dirty green. An idea of general neglect and dirt pervaded the room. The boys were shockingly pale and, if possible, yet more shockingly dirty. About some of them was a heavy, stupid, leaden look which was bad enough. Others were pale and puffy. One or two of the smallest, too, had, in contrast, bright cheeks and flashing eyes, and if we had been in America I should have expected within the year the departure of another fiery little soul which had fretted the pigmy body to decay, and o'er-informed its tenement of clay.

Then too I was somewhat astonished to see the boys, as they were called out to recite, get up on the desks and walk along among their companions' heads till they could jump down on the floor. Packed as they were in rows of five, as close together as possible, this was the easiest way for the inside ones to get out, and so they took it. Still I never could get used to it, and luckily as I had an outside seat and always recited from it, never was called on to imitate it.

Then to return to the appearance of the boys, which I did indeed become used to, but which always was disagreeable to me. At first, as I've said, they struck me as frightfully pale and sickly looking. I don't think it's possible that I can have

forgotten so much the looks of my old school mates, as to make a mistake in calling these by far the worst looking boys I ever saw. Not morally bad-looking; that they were not; but pale, heavy, dirty, and in many cases with that puffy, flabby flatness about their faces, suggestive of a diet of sauer kohl and sausages, bad atmosphere and no exercise. Their white faces made me feel sick and low-spirited whenever I looked round the room. Yet the Prussian men are not so. The officers in the army are remarkably well made, full-grown and handsome, I think, and though they are mostly noble, and picked men at that, still I fancy they go through pretty much the same course. The boys too did not seem to be sick more than other boys. They were not strong, certainly, but seemed healthy in spite of their appearance. They were not stupid, either, at least so far as their lessons were concerned.

I had formerly thought my own school-days bad enough. I had never appreciated that idea which many persons have, that they are the happiest days of life, and do not believe that they are. But when I renewed them here under these circumstances, I never ceased thanking Heaven that my lot as a child had not been to be educated under the most perfect school-system in the world. A perfect system is a very curious and admirable thing, but it's not always a very pleasant thing; though of course, about this you had best judge for yourself.

The day was arranged usually as follows. We came to the room at about eight o'clock, but ten minutes grace was allowed, so that the teacher did not enter till nearly quarter past. At his entrance the boys were expected to be all in their places, and the Primus stood up at his corner. We all rose in our seats, and the Primus recited a short prayer which was particularly well adapted to be hurried through with, as it was in rhyme and every one knew it already by heart. Then the recitation began, each boy as he was called out, scrambling over the seats and standing in front so as to face the class. At nine we had ten minutes interval, and the instant the master disappeared I always opened a window which was always shut again when he reentered. The intervals were occupied by the boys in playing, fighting, eating and standing still, and by some in studying. They very seldom left the room, and never had any real play in the yard. The principal amusement was to the large boys in bullying the little ones; to the little ones in being bullied by the large ones and in bullying each other. In this way two or three of the smallest had been slapped and pulled about until they habitually walked with their arms raised in an attitude of defence, and were always ready to dodge or run if anyone came near them. It needed week after week of continual effort on my part to convince them that I would not hurt them, and I had to submit to all sorts of things before they would really come up and speak to me without fear. They insisted on riding on my back, and sometimes two or three would get on together; they would climb all over me, sit on my shoulders, play with my watch, and worst of all, make me eat some of their breakfast of black-bread, which they themselves put into my mouth. They were bright little fellows, but dirty to a degree that was horrible. However I put up with it all, preferring the little ones to the great ones, and though I could not interfere in their battles much, as it might have made trouble in the school, still I did protect to a certain degree the smaller ones from the outrageous bullying they had to put up with usually.

With these intervals of recitations and recesses the day passed, closing as it began with a prayer. The boys went home and ate their dinner, but whether they returned in the afternoon or not, they never seemed to really play, except occasionally when there was skating and a few of them took advantage of it. Berlin

is hardly adapted for playing, to say nothing of the police, who do not permit such violations of decorum as throwing a snow-ball or the like.

I tried hard to introduce good rules among these boys. Two especially were needed; the old laws of the fight, "Hit one of your size," and "Strike with your fists," but my efforts failed entirely. It was easier for them to go on with their own customs of tyrannizing over their inferiors, and using all sorts of barbarous tortures; twisting the arm, striking the tender muscles of it; squeezing the hand; pinching the neck; pulling the hair and such amiable little customs. Boxing the Germans know nothing of. Occasionally they did wrestle, and that was all. One day a white-faced, puffy little fellow had his arm broken in some of these tortures, and the boys who had done it were punished, I believe, by staying after school an hour for a week. He was absent some three weeks and returned finally with his arm in a sling looking paler, puffier, unhealthier than ever.

Of course I don't tell you these things as peculiarities of a Prussian school. More's the pity, we can find them in every city and land in the civilized world. But here it was encouraged by the arrangement of the recitations which kept the boys in the schoolroom without oversight, when they should have been playing out of doors. But out-of-door play wasn't in these boys. They made noise enough in the school-room, and, properly trained, they could have kicked a foot-ball or used a hawkey as well as anyone, but in the first place they had never been taught even to play tag and in the second they had no chance to do it. No wonder that they look weak and pale and heavy. I used to look round at them as they came to order on the entrance of a teacher, and always felt a sort of sickness, a longing for school-boys as I remember them at home, rushing into the room in a crowd at the last second, with bright eyes and red faces, and no breath for the next ten minutes. The Prussian Government seem to think that two hours a week in gymnastic exercises is going to balance a diet of pickled cabbage and sausages; unlimited home study; entire ignorance of the healthy properties of soap and cold water; and thirty-two hours a week of the strongest mental application in an atmosphere that would have sickened a scavenger.

I've already mentioned several times that the boys were not clean. The German nation as a whole has no very high reputation for cleanliness, although even at this they claim to be cleaner than most of the people in Europe. With the advance among them of constitutional liberty, they are gradually acquiring a few Anglo-Saxon ideas as to self-respect and clean clothes. The cold-water movement is not an old one in Germany. I myself knew a gentleman who assured me that he was the first person to bring a nail-brush to Berlin, thirty years ago, and I should have believed him if he had said five years instead of thirty. If I were one of the King's councillors, I say without hesitation that I would advise him to institute a new order of honor in the kingdom, the Cross of the Nail-brush, which only the cleanest man could receive, and which should rank second in the list.

There was a regular descending scale in the color of these boys' faces and shirts. Monday morning the general appearance was quite satisfactory. Their hair had evidently, with a few exceptions, recently been brushed and perhaps combed. Their hands had been washed. Their shirts looked tolerably clean, and their faces looked as old portraits look which have been restored and the colors brought out. Tuesday however brought a very decided change, especially in the shirts and hair. On Wednesday some of the proud ones were equipped in a clean shirt, but it seemed to me that with the rest the shades of color only became deeper and deeper until on Saturday they disappeared to undergo the restoring process again.

Of course I had a natural curiosity to learn the facts of the case. I knew that they did not consider a bath as a material point for a person's self-respect, though for the sake of saying that they know what a bath is, some of them do indulge once every summer in ablutions in the river Spree; much like bathing in a common-sewer so far as cleanliness is concerned. Some of them too acknowledge fairly that they never recollect having taken a bath in their lives. But the great point that I wished to decide was whether, a shirt once on, they took it off again before it came off for good. Now most persons will agree that this is rather a delicate subject to enquire about. One does not like, even among so good-natured a people as the Germans, to ask a person how long he wears his shirt and whether he sleeps in it or not. I hesitated for a good while, and at last selecting the cleanest looking shirt in the class I got him one day up to my room and introduced the subject in as conversational a way as I could. For the honor of his class and his countrymen, he decidedly inclined to the opinion that a week was a good while to wear a shirt, and it got quite dirty, and, so far as he knew, they didn't wear their shirts at night. With this answer I remained satisfied, and determined to let the shirts pass.

But though the shirts, faces, hair, hands and habits of the boys were tolerable, for all this was their affair and concerned me only as a matter of general interest to a student of life and manners, there was still one thing in this connection which was wholly intolerable. This was the atmosphere of the room. I am not acquainted with the exact amount of oxygen and hydrogen that the human lungs require, but am very certain that in this school they had to work on the shortest amount of rations possible. Neither do I know how large a quantity of poisonous gases the German lungs can absorb without suffocation, but I think I can leave it to your imagination to see that it must be something awful. This was the great trouble I had. Indeed I used to be really afraid to leave the room for fear the change on returning would make me sick. The instant the master went out, I would open as many windows as possible, and as the boys were very reasonable, I was generally successful in keeping two open till the teacher returned, but the instant he re-entered they were shut without remorse. Though the air of the room was as hot and foul as fifty boys in two hours could make it; no matter; it was always "Fenster zu." Though the atmosphere was filled with dust from the play and fighting; though the day was warm and the Spring calling out the buds and flowers; it was all the same; "Fenster zu." Yet this teacher was a gentleman, a scholar, a faithful and not unkind master. Others were somewhat better in this respect, and allowed a window to remain partially open. But the majority were most determined and obstinate enemies of pure air. In summer, they told me, it was yet worse, for then the windows could not be opened. At most only the door. For directly under the walls of the school ran one of those black, unhealthy arms of the Spree, such as in Berlin are always turning up in the most unexpected places; coming from under houses and disappearing beneath what seem to be perfectly solid streets, so that they seem to be a type of the state of society in the city, where the dark currents are forced out of sight into darker corners, and one only sees what is really round him, when he leaves the thoroughfares and burrows through out-of-the-way places; gets, so to speak, the back-yard view of human nature. Serving as these streams do for innumerable uses, of which draining I take to be the first, washing, cooking, and drinking, the subordinates, there naturally arises from them an odor which is in summer intolerable. As I left the school in the middle of Spring, however, I was spared this last and crowning experience.

Of course I entered the school prepared to undergo all the inconveniences and

discomforts that boys usually inflict on persons who are in any way exposed to their practical jokes. My expectation was that there would have to be a grand battle and then the trouble would end. But not one of them ever, to my knowledge, attempted in any way to take advantage of my position, and I was always, during the three months I remained, treated in the pleasantest way, both by scholars and masters. I never joined in the boys' play, because it was not pleasant play, and none of the boys themselves ever attempted to say or do anything that would have excited a quarrel between us, although there were several of the scholars larger than I, and if they had been Americans and I a German, there would have been nothing but battles till I had been driven out. Perhaps too they were kept off to some degree by a belief that I could box; though it seemed indeed to be not fear but a really honest good-will and sympathy that held them back from everything which could by any chance, hurt my feelings or make me angry. For this I was and am the more obliged to them because I knew how among the boys in our home public schools, a stranger would have fared in spite of his being ever-so-pleasant, if he had come in as I did here.

You can imagine that I feel really grateful to these dirty little fellows on this account. It was truly German, the best side of the German character. One day, I recollect, a number of them were sitting round me in the interval, talking about America as they used to like to do, and one of them asked a rather rude and decidedly coarse question; about the only occasion I ever heard anything improper from any of them. I passed it over and left it unnoticed, but presently I saw the fellow taken by half a dozen of his classmates and stretched over a bench while a couple of the strongest administered a pretty severe dose of punishment. The Primus came up, after the operation was performed, and told me that the whipping was a "Strafe" for what he had said to me. I very seldom had occasion to use force against them. Only once I had to put an end to the impertinent questions of a grinning, tactless Jew boy, by boxing his ears. Their endless questions I always made a point of conscience to answer as far from the truth as possible, except in the very few cases where I thought the truth would really be of use to them; so that to the very end many of the younger were not yet quite decided whether to believe or not my accounts of my three squaws and six papooses in the wigwam at home, and though I invented a variety of Indian tortures and illustrated at some length the operation of scalping, they gradually came to look on me as a deceiver and doubted everything I said. They were themselves so simple in this respect; they had so little idea of the possibility of deceiving anyone; that I never really deceived them, for they certainly always knew when my stories were not true, though they did not always know what the truth was.

Out of school I seldom saw them. The ordinary German style of living prevents what we should call hospitality for the most part, and at best a German tea is a pretty dreary kind of entertainment. So I never went to one of their houses and can't tell you how they appear there. I don't know either whether you can get any very graphic idea from what I have said, of how they appeared to me in school. You would have to see them as I saw them, to appreciate this; you would have to go into those old, dirty, dusty, faded-looking rooms, and see them as they recite or as they pretend to play, with their colorless, unhealthy faces, their inherited beggarly clothes, their shirts which give one the impression of total want of cleanliness and then the indescribably bad atmosphere to crown it all. And yet I don't want you to imagine them worse than they are, although I think every word I have said is true. This school was an old one, and there are others which are much



better in respect to ventilation and neatness. These masters whom I saw were not all the masters in Berlin. Remember that I speak only of what I did see, and don't undertake to describe more than one particular portion of the enormous system.

I have heard people say the Germans are stupid, and certainly so far as my own experience goes, the German peasants are remarkably stupid. But the Berlin people have the reputation of being the cleverest in Germany. These scholars come from among the Berlin people peculiarly. There were very few nobles among them. In my room there was not a single "von." They were the sons of trades-people, of merchants; one I know told me with an appearance of pride that he was the son of a "Kellner," a waiter in one of the great beer, music, and dancing halls. There were a number of Jews among them. The fathers of some were very poor; of others very well off; and I was surprised one rainy day to see two of them riding off after school in a handsome private carriage. But from their clothes I could not tell which were the poor and which were the wealthy. They all brought their black bread for breakfast and there seemed to be very little distinction of rank. As a class I do not think they were stupid, though certainly they did want animal spirits. They recited well, however, and learned their lessons, especially those merely requiring exercise of memory, very fairly indeed. They had not been brought, by the training they had been through, to like their teachers, and always spoke of them as every boy, whom I ever knew, always will. Teachers cannot be popular so long as they are mortals, and have human weaknesses. The teacher under whom we were placed was in every respect a remarkably good one; indeed he seemed to me to be almost the very personification of what the system wanted. But I do not think that he was infallible, and I am certain that in regard to one or two boys his very perfection as a school-teacher made him unjust as a man.

The discipline in the school-room was not so strict as I had supposed. There was often a good deal of whispering, even almost loud talking while a recitation was going on. There was considerable prompting too; more than I ever saw before except in College. The Director of one of the Gymnasiums told me before I entered that he thought it probable I would find less strictness than in American schools, and it was indeed so. But of course about greater offences, the boys were under no doubt excellent training, and whether it was their nature or not, I can't say, but they were clumsy deceivers. It was habitual for the master to ask one scholar what another had been doing, and in such cases there was a readiness on the part of the boys to tell everything, no matter how hard it might bear against their companion, which I did not at all like, and would infinitely have preferred that unwillingness to answer which irritates masters so much. I do not mean that they were real tell-tales, or that the masters encouraged informing in this way, for I never did see this done to any extent. But it was a disagreeable approach to it. This however did not prevent more or less cheating, and occasionally a case was discovered, but perhaps the very graveness of the offence prevented the use of the ordinary punishments, for usually the teacher seemed to prefer the simple moral effect of an exposure before the class, and when he thought the boy really felt this disgrace enough, he did not press it further, except by keeping a closer watch over him than usual. Our teacher's manner in conducting such cases as this seemed to me peculiarly dignified, and precisely what was wanted. The boys here too showed their nationality. There never was any obstinacy in yielding. They did not seem capable of brazening the matter out, but always yielded at once and cried for half an hour afterwards. I once saw two great fellows larger than I myself, when exposed in rather a disgraceful case of collusion for the sake of

cheating, lay their heads down on their arms and sob and quiver all over, making an outrageous noise, so that the recitation could hardly be heard for fifteen minutes. The master took no notice of it and allowed them to exhaust their mortification in quiet.

I believe I've now told you as much as you will care to read. At all events if you can get no definite ideas from all this, you would get no more though I were to spin out this letter to a book, and translate for your benefit the five hopeless German volumes of history and statutes which I have, relating to the Prussian School-system. It would be the easiest thing in the world to go on and give you my views on the schools as a system and their connection among each other and their relation to the state, but this ground has already, I believe, been trodden by persons who are really capable of doing it well, so it is not worth while for me to expose myself by doing it ill. You can see easily enough, I suppose, from what I have said, what my own inclination towards this system is, but if you wish to see it still clearer I will say plainly that from what I have seen I admire its perfection very much, but infinitely prefer the less perfect and more free and human education which we know, or used to know at home.

But you must recollect that I do not undertake to assert absolutely the universal truth of what I have written. I only do assert that it seemed so to me. But if in some matters I've represented things rather against the school, on the other hand I've hardly mentioned the really gravest objection against the system; that is, its complete subjection to the uses of the state. I've left this aside partly because it would have been beyond the limit that I set originally and would need an ocean of illustrations and proofs; partly because of the late changes in the Prussian Government which, as I've already said, have reversed the whole internal system of state, so that I should merely prove what did exist a year ago, but not what does now exist, nor what, God willing, will exist a year hence.

I was not one of the scholars myself, actually. I cannot say that I knew them very thoroughly, and do not like to draw comparisons between them and boys whom I know better. My own position in the school was always and must necessarily have been wholly separate from that of the real scholars. In the first place I came not to learn the lessons but the language. In the second place however, even if I had known the language thoroughly, I could not have learned the lessons. It would be quite impossible for a common person, who has completed an American education, to change the whole ground all of a sudden and jump right into a half-finished German course with any hope of doing even what boys of half his own age can do with their different training. Accordingly I always was acknowledged as an outsider and was allowed to attend the recitations I chose and to learn the lessons or not, as I liked. It was certainly very kind, very obliging of the head of the Institution to permit me to make this use of a system belonging properly to wholly other objects, and I always tried to act in such a way that they might not be sorry for their courtesy, but of course I could not change my whole nature and become a German school-boy in three months.

So there are many matters which I do not understand very well myself and must refer to the books for. It is very possible that I may have wholly overlooked some of the chief points. For instance I've not said how much home study is required of the scholars, and only know that when I inquired about it, one boy said two hours a day, another four, and a third declared it was just as much as they chose to make it. I know too that there are several rules and regulations limiting it, among the Ministerial Ordinaries. Then I've said nothing of the police regula-



tions under which the scholars are placed. I was rather surprised one day to find that I was violating the laws by going to the Theatre and Concerts without someone to take care of me, and committing a grave offence by smoking cigars in the street. There must be many peculiarities which I heard and saw nothing of, on account of my short stay; one occasion of this sort was the semi-annual Exhibition, which I suppose however is much like other Exhibitions and would need no very long notice. Such as I recollect this school I've described it, and all omissions or misrepresentations are accidental and you must get what you can in spite of them.

I took leave of the school at the end of the Semestre in the middle of April, and of course I could hardly have been sorry to do it. You can imagine that it is not very pleasant to be shut up in such atmosphere and such company very long however free one's position is and however kindly one is treated. But I do not think I shall ever regret the time I passed there, for it gave me a clearer idea of German institutions and habits than I should ever have got from my exercises and grammar, and when I left the school I was able, if not to talk German, at least to make myself understood and to understand what was said to me. In spite of all the systematic perfection of the school, however, which I think I appreciate fully, I hope that in case you or I are ever so fortunate as to have children of our own, they may never be placed in such a mill as this to have their brains crammed with Latin and Greek at the cost of their health, their happiness and almost their very identity.

Hoping that you will find in these two letters a grain or two of information, or at least a grain of amusement, I will now leave you to make the most of it, only wishing that what I have said were for your sake twice as graphic and half as long.

DRESDEN—MAY—1859

\* \* \* \* *Reviews of Books* \* \* \* \*

General History

A STUDY OF HISTORY. By *Arnold J. Toynbee*. ABRIDGEMENT OF VOLUMES I-VI. By *D. C. Somervell*. (New York: Oxford University Press. 1947. Pp. xiii, 617. \$5.00.)

THE original volumes of Professor Toynbee's now-classic *Study* constitute, as attested by an impressive list of highly qualified critics, a work of formidable erudition and insight. Among the eight still unpublished parts projected by the author is one on "The Prospects of the Western Civilization." These prospects, it might be said, have been brightened by a highly improbable occurrence—the extraordinary sale of the abridgment of the first six volumes. The abridgment, which Mr. Somervell has made a popularization in the best sense, reveals, even without "the leisured amplitude" of the original, that in extensiveness and reliability of scholarship as well as in the disciplined use of a brilliant historical imagination Professor Toynbee's *Study* is unequaled among universal histories written according to a grand design.

Although here and there brief passages have been added to make it a post-war book, the abridgment is remarkable in every way for its fidelity to the original, the second three volumes of which appeared on the eve of war in 1939. Like the original, the abridgment appeals essentially, for all its eloquence and indications of mystical conviction, to the rational and critical faculties. The book is neither pontifical nor arrogant and owes its persuasive power to scrupulous methods, the author being determined throughout to make his investigations empirical. Though much of the charm and richness of Professor Toynbee's style comes from his use of metaphors, he is fully aware of their seductions for the historian of civilization and he does not often succumb to their dangers. We can accept, as far as the author uses them, the twenty-one postulated civilizations as legitimate historical entities, and we recognize the other differentiations of abortive and arrested civilizations from primitive societies. Concerning geneses of civilizations the author's argument is most effective, and it is fascinating, if not invariably convincing, concerning the growths, the breakdowns, and the disintegrations of civilizations.

Why is the book not always convincing? Some doubts arising in the reader's mind are, on reflection, set at rest, the editor in one instance assisting this process with his note on the meaning of breakdowns (p. 273). Others, however, remain. They are, this reviewer believes, induced by the author's occasional lapses from his own exacting standards of historical analysis, and by instances of an unobtrusive dogmatism. It is just possible that these deficiencies would not have appeared had Professor Toynbee in his first volume been at pains to penetrate more deeply than he did into the philosophic problems of historical knowledge. Be

that as it may, it is disturbing to notice that a pattern of civilization is presumed to be actually or potentially there when evidence is lacking (pp. 381, 551). We suspect the vigilance of Professor Toynbee's empiricism when he deals disparagingly with the triumph of religious toleration (pp. 300, 553) in the age which elevated reason and gave birth to humanitarianism; or when he excoriates, without recognizing creative vitality in, the fine arts of the twentieth century (p. 259). He gives insufficient attention to the liberating and therefore civilizing effects of technology, and he expresses only the more bitter truths about modern democracy, industrialism, and materialism. The "palingenesia" (*Respublica Christiana*) which he is clearly looking for (pp. 403, 554) sounds uncomfortably like an appeal to "archaism," the futility of which he exposes.

Let there be no question, however, that as a formulator of hypotheses which could fruitfully become a part of the historian's professional equipment, Professor Toynbee is unsurpassed. Whether as discoverer, expositor, or systematizer, he will leave these concepts as intellectual bequests—challenge-and-response, withdrawal-and-return, nemesis of creativity, internal and external proletariat, schism-and-palingenesia, and many others. They are the major contribution of a great work which Mr. Somervell has abridged with the utmost skill.

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WILLSON H. COATES

MAHAN ON SEA POWER. By *William E. Livezey*. (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press. 1947. Pp. xiii, 334. \$3.50.)

MR. Livezey assays an examination of the mind and influence of Alfred Thayer Mahan. In preparation for his task he has looked through the obvious manuscript collections and made use of the files of official publications, periodicals, and newspapers, both foreign and domestic. In addition he has been to an impressive number of biographies, memoirs, and secondary works. From the material thus obtained he has produced a well-organized, clearly written book. But it cannot be said that he has introduced any significant advance or change in the previous understanding of his subject.

The defect is not entirely attributable to Mr. Livezey. Mahan is, after all, no Homer Lea to be plucked from oblivion. His principal ideas, stated in the first instance with such clarity by himself, have, in the interval since his death, been frequently examined and restated. The difficult question of his influence has already attracted able and productive scholars, among them Pratt, Davis, and the Sprouts. Certainly, it seems just to say, the general import of Mahan's career is fairly well described and recognized.

But the field of investigation is not necessarily pre-empted. There is still much that might prove rewarding in the contemplation of a naval officer who not only could write but could write history; and of a historian with ideas who arrived at generalizations that profoundly affected his time. Mr. Livezey is aware of these

possibilities. He makes a real effort to examine the breadth of his subject's mind as naval officer, historian, imperialist, and publicist. But his ultimate assessments remain conventional and, on the whole, thoroughly familiar, in large part because his sources of information are traditional. Too often he has been to the same wells that served his predecessors.

In the special area where opportunities for original investigation remain greatest Mr. Livezey appears to have done the least. His chapter on the United States Navy in Mahan's time contributes nothing that is new and betrays, in places, an uncertain mastery over that which is now old. In the period between 1880 and 1914 crucial decisions were being made within the Navy on such matters as building policy, ship design, fleet organization, fleet support, gunnery, tactics, and naval administration. On all these matters Mahan had perceptive and suggestive ideas. Mr. Livezey knows this. He identifies the issues and describes the ideas. But there is no depth in his treatment of the methods by which the conflicts that arose over these matters were resolved, nor is any real effort made to assess the influence of Mahan in their resolution. For example, the presumed and debatable part played by Mahan in the composition of Secretary Tracy's celebrated report is described only by a direct quotation from another work.

In these pages personalities of determining influence, men in the service and out of it like Taylor, Fiske, Converse, Hale, and Foss who helped to shape the Navy, pass virtually unnoticed. Yet one would like to know what they were to Mahan or he to them. Influences, both naval and political, that joined and interacted to work upon the character of the Navy are inadequately explored. The tensions, pressures, and displacements set up in any organization during such a period of rapid evolution are never fully described. Nor can they be without recourse to material that lies below the level of official publications—in such places as the files of the Secretaries, the bureaus, and the General Board or in the official and private correspondence of naval officers.

It is true, of course, that Mahan exerted profound influence in regions quite beyond the confines of the United States Navy. But for a full understanding of Mahan a thorough knowledge of the naval environment is not incidental. It is there, in the agency through which the theory of sea power is to be applied, that many of the consequences and implications of his ideas can be most surely discerned and measured. Mr. Livezey has, on the whole, fulfilled the traditional requirements in his study of Mahan on sea power in the regions exterior to the Navy, but he has left for others a real examination of Mahan and the instrument by which he hoped to obtain command of the sea.

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ELTING E. MORISON

A CULTURAL HISTORY OF EDUCATION: REASSESSING OUR EDUCATIONAL TRADITIONS. By *R. Freeman Butts*, Associate Professor of

Education, Teachers College, Columbia University. (New York: McGraw-Hill Book Company. 1947. Pp. ix, 726. \$4.00.)

SINCE 1946, five new texts and one revision have been published by writers on educational history. Of all these, the book under review offers the best-balanced presentation of the subject. It attempts to show "the close relationship between society, schools, and other educational agencies" (p.v) and, accordingly, includes a mass of information culled from general, economic, intellectual, social, and religious history, all of which is correlated, with varying degrees of success, with the developments in education.

The basic plan of the volume is chronological. A sketch of the cultural and intellectual life of each period precedes a description of educational aims, methods, curriculums, organization, and agencies of control. The author keeps his objective consistently in the forefront: "a revitalized conception of democratic education to act as a guidepost for the future of American education and for the world in desperate need of cooperative action" (p.vii).

The scope extends from primitive education, the information on which is not derived from up-to-date sources, up to the formation of UNESCO. Most of the space is devoted to the nineteenth and twentieth centuries. It is not surprising, therefore, that other periods of educational history, the Egyptian and the Jewish for example, are treated too briefly.

Unlike other writers, Butts does not lay stress on the lives and achievements of the great pedagogues. Pestalozzi, Froebel, and Herbart are treated together in fewer than five pages, and lesser lights are disposed of even more hurriedly. At rather frequent intervals the author lists many names without identification (*e.g.*, pp. 326, 549-51).

Professor Butts has apparently taken great care to check his facts and to be objective in his judgments. His bibliography, twenty pages long, is representative and up-to-date on the whole, and almost completely free from misprints. The fifty-page index makes reference work a pleasure, especially since it includes the vital dates of every person mentioned in the text.

*A Cultural History of Education* is a sound pedagogical text for elementary students of the history of education, even though it lacks illustrative material. The historical scholar, however, will have to look elsewhere for a thoroughgoing treatment of the subject.

New York University

WILLIAM W. BRICKMAN

THREE THOUSAND YEARS OF EDUCATIONAL WISDOM: SELECTIONS FROM GREAT DOCUMENTS. Edited and commented upon by Robert Ulich, Harvard University. (Cambridge: Harvard University Press. 1947. Pp. x, 614. \$6.50.)

THE documents included in this volume are drawn from many sources: from the ancient Asiatic cultures (Hindu and Chinese), from ancient Greece and Rome,

from early and medieval Christianity, from Islam, and from educational writings since the Renaissance. The general purpose of the book, as the editor states in the preface, is to promote "a feeling for cultural depth and continuity." "As long as the daily planning, doing, and structuring in education are constantly nourished by the wellsprings of the total cultural evolution, education and civilization are in a state of health; when the contact is cut they are sick and a crisis occurs. We live now in such a crisis."

This statement of purpose, unfortunately, is somewhat misleading. It may be granted without cavil that the documents selected are of historical importance, and also that a collection of this kind may have considerable usefulness. The intimation, however, that it portrays "a long-enduring process of cultural self-evolution" (preface) hardly corresponds to the facts. Basically it is a source book and not much more. Evolution, of whatever kind, requires direction; and a sense of direction is precisely what is lacking. How are we to distinguish between the blind alleys and the sound "cultural depth and continuity" in this "process of cultural self-evolution"?

It is only in the comments on the final section, which is devoted to Emerson, that the editor really shows his hand. According to Dr. Ulich, "Emerson closes the circle of the great idealists, Rousseau, Pestalozzi, and Froebel, on whom all the essential concepts of modern, or progressive education are based. What we have had since then are explanations, applications, variations in detail, and attempts to substitute the originally idealistic background of progressive education with a more 'naturalist' or 'pragmatic' philosophy. These attempts, of course, reflect the aversion of many of us to any kind of metaphysics" (p. 577).

What this means is obviously that for Dr. Ulich the "essential concepts" in education must be derived from metaphysics, and more specifically from an idealistic metaphysics, through which we may hope to "bring to realization the great laws of existence on which human evolution depends" (p. 577). With all due respect for Dr. Ulich's status as a scholar, this is a lapse into sheer dogmatism. What these "great laws" are, or how they are to be applied to education, has never been made clear. The fact that an inventor can get along nicely without any such metaphysics is ignored as irrelevant, despite the vigorous contention of pragmatic philosophy, and more particularly the philosophy of John Dewey, that there is a basic kinship between invention and all other forms of thinking. All we get is the astounding notion that metaphysics is necessary for creative thinking in dealing with spiritual values, that without metaphysics we are limited to "mere conventionalism and legality" (p. 577). This obstinate preconception is presumably the reason why no samples of pragmatic philosophy are included in the volume. If educators put blinders on themselves in this fashion, there is little prospect that we will soon emerge from the prevailing confusion regarding the meaning of democracy, which is rapidly becoming a public scandal.

*Columbus, Ohio*

B. H. BODE

YEARS OF CRISIS: AN OUTLINE OF INTERNATIONAL HISTORY, 1919-1945. By *Kenneth Ingram*. (New York: Macmillan Company. 1947. Pp. 487. \$5.00.)

THIS volume has much to commend it as a survey of recent world events and developments. The flexibility and freshness of the author's prose is immediately noticeable; facts are abundant yet they do not impede the movement or obscure the direction of the narrative; the chapters, and chapter parts, are well constructed and coherently related. In general, the scope of the work is broad, including Asia and the Western Hemisphere as well as Europe. While British policies and performance receive more detailed treatment than those of other countries, the narrative is not unbalanced in this respect.

In the reviewer's opinion, the first part of the volume, on the period from 1919 to 1939, is more acceptable from all points of view than the second part, covering the Second World War. With regard to the former, the facts are more firmly established and there is wider agreement on interpretation. The second part is open to objection on both factual and interpretative grounds.

Writing and interpreting his material from a British socialist point of view, the author derives too many of his conclusions and generalizations from ideology rather than facts. The over-all pattern of interpretation presents the Second World War as the inevitable outgrowth of the capitalist system; every aspect of the war that lends itself to interpretation as a popular revolutionary manifestation is highlighted as such; and in his conclusion the author states the proposition "that if we are to attempt to preserve our political democracy, we can do so only by adopting a form of civilization on a Socialist model." Nowhere does the author suggest, much less admit, that political democracy might be in danger from the totalitarian Left as well as the totalitarian Right.

This strong preconception leads to many dubious assertions and generalizations of which the following may be cited: The effective resistance movements were primarily the work of the Left; Finland deliberately provoked Russia to war in 1939; France fell because the Right was reactionary to the point of sympathy with the fascist invader; Mihailovich co-operated with the Germans because the "Serbian landlords" preferred the invader "once an agrarian revolution was threatened"; Russian annexations in 1939-40 were only "vigorous and extreme precautions" and not a manifestation of an expansionist policy; in Russia Hitler came to grips with a people "so passionately devoted to their socialist regime that they would suffer agony and death rather than yield their land to the Nazi aggressor." There are a number of statements that are factually incorrect, such as the assertion that "... the Nazi Generals successfully opposed Göring's scheme for an independent Air Force"; that Russia did not fulfill her obligations under the German-Russian trade agreement; and that the conspirators of July 20, 1944, made no effort "to link up with any popular resistance elements."

As for the political developments and the military campaigns of World War



II, these are developed in detail, but almost entirely at the level of daily newspaper reports with their inevitable inaccuracies and mistaken interpretations. The author does not appear to have used the final reports of the Allied commanders, the many corrective articles that have appeared in military reviews, or, on the political side, such obvious books as Gafenco's *Preliminaires de la guerre à l'est*, or *The Ciano Diaries*. In general, it may be said that the volume has merit in matters of presentation, scope and arrangement of detail, but many of the generalizations are questionable and some of the factual statements are incorrect.

*University of Virginia*

ORON J. HALE

OPERATIONS IN NORTH AFRICAN WATERS, OCTOBER, 1942-JUNE, 1943. By *Samuel Eliot Morison*. [History of United States Naval Operations in World War II, Volume II.] (Boston: Little, Brown and Company. 1947. Pp. xxvii, 297. \$5.00.)

THIS book will remind many who served with the United States Navy of their encounters with Captain Morison and his "young men." The Navy's plans for recording its work were not, perhaps, fully understood or appreciated at the time by those who had to carry out the department's directives in this respect. Now, however, it is possible to see the value of the forethought which assembled and then supported the naval historians. It laid the foundations for a new kind of naval history, which, while avoiding the specialist approach, does not run to the opposite extreme of a handling so popular that a naval operation seems like an adventure story.

If the pattern that Professor Morison has set in this first volume is to be the model for those still in hand, he is to be commended. It painlessly forces on the reader a degree of comprehension usually reserved for the professional. Yet, it disarms the critic of details by admitting that "historians in years to come may shoot this book full of holes." Within its stated limitations, it goes to work thoroughly, beginning "operations" with an account of the two-year diplomatic contest that preceded the Anglo-American agreement to plan a North African landing.

This opening section of the book is a lesson in purposeful selection. At first, one takes issue with the interpretation of relations between the United States and Vichy, and lists the gaps in the account by comparing it with Professor Langer's *Our Vichy Gamble*; but, at the end, one sees that the frame of reference, as it existed for the planning staffs in 1942, has been properly sketched. We know what they knew; and there could be no better preparation for understanding what they did.

In the same way, it is not necessary to criticize—though one may regret—that the story ends on the very minor note of the capture of Lampedusa and fails to

suggest the immense build-up of naval power in the Mediterranean that was shortly to follow. This will, no doubt, be made good in later volumes; but it will be difficult for even a faithful reader to grasp the continuity.

The problem, in a history of this kind, is that there is no conclusion to be drawn, no general principle to be illustrated. Yet, it cannot be simple narrative, and it cannot pretend to final statement. It can only try to "give the picture."

The picture, as here drawn, is convincing in its general outlines and satisfactory in its detail. Like all well-handled commentaries on human actions, it suggests as many questions as it answers. It adequately sketches the problem of the planners, but it does not suggest the limits of personnel and resources within which they had to work. The "shoe-string" nature of Operation Torch had direct bearing on the political compromises of its first few months, and deserves full attention. It notes many small failures in co-ordinating the work of armies and navies, and in combining British and American techniques; but it does not illustrate the solutions that were improvised and that became part of the practical lessons of the war.

Three things of broad historical interest appear—though rather by the way, than by design. The first is the surprisingly limited objective of the Operation. The second is the significant American mastery of problems of supply, which sets the mind speculating on the possible correlation between American methods of mass production and distribution and American skill in handling logistical detail. The third is a clue to Anglo-American relations in the Mediterranean. "The British have a paramount interest . . . and naturally wished to resume [their] preponderant role. President Roosevelt understood this situation very well. . . ."

But these are incidental. The purpose of the work was not to uncover and examine such broad questions. It was to tell a complex and technical story to a large audience, keeping in due relation the big far-ranging factors and the efforts of thousands of individuals. This balance has been so well kept that the sweep of great forces and the humanity of single acts of heroism and devotion do not obscure each other's value and meaning.

*Yale University*

WILLIAM REITZEL

THE JAPANESE AT LEYTE GULF: THE SHŌ OPERATION. By *James A. Field, Jr.* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1947. Pp. xiv, 162. \$2.50.)

THIS book is a valuable study of what the author calls "by any standard the greatest sea fight of all time." Whether the greatest or not, the battle for Leyte Gulf is unquestionably the biggest, probably the most complex, and bids fair to become one of the most controversial sea battles on record. Of the many historians who will write of it, none is likely to enjoy more advantages than Mr.

Field, who not only took part in the battle, but a year later participated in interrogating Japanese officers in responsible command. He is able to illuminate many obscure phases of Japanese strategy, and his conclusions deserve a respectful hearing by all, including those who may not agree with them.

The battle for Leyte Gulf, even with the American side omitted, presents the historian with baffling problems of organization. Four Japanese naval forces were engaged in major battles, two of them simultaneously. The fighting, which raged over an immense area for four days, involved surface, submarine, and air combat and included virtually every existing type of fighting craft. No one way of organizing this complex story is perfect. After a survey of the strategic situation and the planning of the *Sho* operation, the author carries forward the combat story from sortie to retirement by taking up in rotation each Japanese force in each phase. While this method leaves something to be desired in fluency and unity, it is not unskillfully handled. The reader who lacks a grasp of the decisions of Admirals Halsey and Kinkaid will probably run into difficulties, however, for the author carries his concentration upon the Japanese to the point of omitting mention of the American admirals.

In his conclusions, Mr. Field successfully defends the suicidal *Sho* Plan of Admiral Toyoda, commander-in-chief of the combined fleet, as "sound." Few would challenge his statement that Admiral Ozawa's decoying mission was—with some assistance from his luck and the enemy—"carried out faultlessly." The author pictures Admiral Nishimura accurately as "wholly ineffectual" in Surigao Strait, and Admiral Shima as "the buffoon of the tragedy."

Interest will naturally focus on the treatment of Admiral Kurita, who posed the gravest threat to the Leyte landing and made the two most dramatic, and apart from one by Halsey, the two most hotly debated decisions of the battle. These were his decisions to break off action with the escort carriers off Samar at the moment of victory and then to abandon his primary mission and turn back from Leyte Gulf. While criticizing Kurita for mistakes that contributed to his own failure, Mr. Field contends that the admiral's two major decisions "can be defended as logical and proper." His defense of Kurita, however, is accompanied by the admission that the admiral engaged slow escort carriers for two hours in the belief he was pursuing fast carriers, that he believed he had sunk three or four fast carriers when he had sunk one slow escort carrier, that he saw a trap where there was none, broke off engagement with a crippled force he could not overtake to search for a powerful and undamaged force he could not locate, and finally abandoned his assigned mission in order to join forces with Ozawa, who had been deliberately sacrificed in order that the mission Kurita abandoned could be carried out. The author's earlier plea that "it is asking much to expect precise logic" from one in Kurita's position is more persuasive than his defense of the admiral's logic. But these are largely matters of opinion, and a difference of opinion should not blind one to solid merits of research.

The book is handsomely made and liberally illustrated with charts, diagrams, and photographs.

*Johns Hopkins University*

C. VANN WOODWARD

THE BATTLE FOR LEYTE GULF. By C. Vann Woodward. (New York: Macmillan Company. 1947. Pp. xii, 244. \$4.00.)

PROFESSOR Woodward, the able biographer of Tom Watson, has moved in his second work from the Georgia farm to the Philippine archipelago, and from politics to its continuation by other means. The result of this voyage is the first book on the battle for Leyte Gulf, the greatest sea fight of the recent war. Emphasizing combat rather than planning, narrative rather than analysis, the author has compiled an interesting and informative volume.

The principal sources employed are U. S. action reports and interrogations of Japanese participants. Owing to the somewhat contradictory nature of this material, the details of much of the action are necessarily diffuse. The exception is the treatment of the battle of Surigao Strait: here availability of an excellent composite radar plot, made by Pacific Fleet headquarters, has resulted in more accurate charts and description. Although use has been made of the Japanese action report for the battle off Samar, closer attention to this important document would have corrected the number of destroyers present, and would have established the fact that Admiral Kurita had information of the defeat in Surigao Strait an hour before he made contact with our escort carriers.

The book suffers from factual errors. Eight of the illustrations are miscaptioned: for example, three photographs purporting to show *Zuikaku*, flagship of the Japanese carrier force, are in fact pictures of *Zuiho*, a ship of a very different class; a photograph entitled "Near Miss on CVE in Battle off Samar" shows a Kamikaze attack on another carrier group one hundred miles to the southward; a Japanese cruiser with her main battery trained out to port is said to be "firing on" our escort carriers when in fact all such action was to starboard.

As with the photographs, so with the charts. These, diagrammatic rather than precise in nature, are taken from a wartime publication of the Pacific Fleet, and while some of the misapprehensions of that period have been corrected, others remain. For instance in Chart 4, the locations of the sinkings of *Mogami*, *Noshiro*, and *Akitsuki* are in error by amounts varying between sixty and two hundred miles. These particular errors are not repeated in the text, but some mistakes regarding time and distance which do appear may stem from this reliance on display rather than navigational charts, *e.g.*, the statement that on the twenty-fourth the Japanese carriers were at times "little more than a hundred miles" from our northernmost carrier group, when double this figure would be nearer the fact.

A few incidental matters may be noted in passing: the *Sho* Plan was promul-

gated in July, not in August; most American escort carriers operated FM2, not F6F, fighter planes; the crew of the U.S.S. *Canberra* would doubtless be surprised to see their ship described as "the Australian heavy cruiser."

While estimates of the commanders are largely matters of opinion, this reviewer cannot but feel that Mr. Woodward has not been entirely fair to Admiral Kurita; further use of the action report in this connection would have clarified the admiral's somewhat wandering statements and permitted a judgment based more on performance in battle and less on behavior under interrogation. Nor can we agree that Kurita was in essence an Oriental Hamlet, or that his "weak vacillation of purpose" is illustrative of the "deterioration of . . . morale . . . of the Imperial Fleet." To say that what was needed was not a Hamlet but a Halsey is to overlook the remarkable parallels between Halsey and Kurita: both departed from their basic missions to seek other action; both engaged a weak enemy force thinking it a strong one; both broke off from these engagements to find another enemy, and both failed in the attempt. Finally, the advance of the Japanese against great odds and despite heavy losses, and the institution of Kamikaze tactics, hardly indicate a breakdown in morale. Errors they did make, but lack of courage was not one of their failings.

As the author says, this book should not be regarded as definitive; we had to wait a long time after Jutland for such a work, and we doubtless will have to do so again. But to the general reader who wants the story and is not concerned with precision of detail, *The Battle for Leyte Gulf* should prove most interesting.

York Village, Maine

JAMES A. FIELD, JR.

## Ancient and Medieval History

THE RISE AND FALL OF THE MIDDLE KINGDOM IN THEBES. By  
H. E. Winlock. (New York: Macmillan Company. 1947. Pp. xv, 174. \$5.00.)

HERBERT Eustis Winlock is *facile princeps* among living authorities in the field of Egyptian archaeology. No other Egyptologist now living can approach him in thoroughness and brilliance of excavating technique. Readers of his popular survey, *Excavations at Deir el-Bahri, 1911-1931*, will remember the verve of his style and the compelling way in which he knew how to interest them in the interpretation of his finds. In the present book he writes for Egyptologists and historians, not for a wider reading public, but his style remains just as fascinating, in spite of the impressive array of diacritical marks with which Egyptian names are decorated.

The first five chapters are taken with little change, in the main, from previously published papers in learned journals; they have, however, been revised and brought up to date. Chapter vi is a rather cursory sketch of "the Twelfth to the Fifteenth Dynasties," which leaps rather cavalierly over three centuries,

lingering a little on the Hyksos Age. Chapter vii, "The Sixteenth Dynasty," is entirely new and exceedingly important to all scholars who are interested in the obscure period of the "Second Intermediate Age" in Egypt. Chapter viii, "Hyksos Importations into Egypt," is again new and significant, in spite of some sketchiness in detail and of many omissions.

In chapter vii the author reconstructs a whole dynasty which had previously been virtually unknown, its five rulers being scattered over several centuries by different Egyptologists. By a masterly exhibition of archaeological and antiquarian detective work he succeeds in establishing his thesis, that the kings in question ruled together in the seventeenth century B.C., beyond cavil. The Sixteenth Dynasty of Thebans is now a *fait acquis*. It is true that these five princes ruled for only thirty or forty years, and that their power was restricted to Upper Egypt. Nonetheless, our ignorance of their true chronological place has been a very serious obstacle to comprehension of the obscure age in which they lived.

Winlock's reconstruction of Hyksos history is briefly as follows. The 108 years attributed to this dynasty by the Turin Papyrus, as determined by the definitive examination of the latter by Farina and Ibscher (published in 1938), are located between 1675 and 1567 B.C. Following the Africanus recension of Manetho as transmitted by Syncellus, he makes Apophis the last of these kings and dates him *ca.* 1600-1567 B.C. The three Apophids with attested prenomina are all identified, thus greatly reducing the confusion of the period (assuming that the identification is correct, which remains to be proved). The Sixteenth Dynasty is made contemporary with the early Fifteenth, about 1675-1640 B.C. The reviewer must own to serious reservations with respect to this scheme. In the first place, the Josephan recension of Manetho is almost certainly more dependable, as recognized by Eduard Meyer and Giulio Farina, among others. If we accept this recension, Apophis precedes Khayana (Khian) instead of following the latter, and it becomes impossible to identify him with the other two known Apophids. In the second place, we are left without the otherwise attested "Aseth" at the end of the dynasty. However, certainty is not attainable as yet; Winlock's reconstruction is historically more satisfactory, in the reviewer's opinion, than the latest European effort, by Hans Stock, a meritorious study from the school of Scharff in Munich (*Studien zur Geschichte und Archäologie der 13. bis 17. Dynastie Aegyptens unter besonderer Berücksichtigung der Skarabäen dieser Zwischenzeit*, Glückstadt, 1942).

*Johns Hopkins University*

W. F. ALBRIGHT

ANCIENT GREEK MARINERS. By *Walter Woodburn Hyde*. (New York: Oxford University Press. 1947. Pp. x, 360. \$5.00.)

PROFESSOR Hyde, who has already made a valuable contribution to historical geography in a comprehensive survey of the Roman roads across the Alps (Ameri-

can Philosophical Society, *Memoirs*, II [1935] ), has now produced a book which far exceeds the scope of its title and passes under review the general contribution of Greeks, Romans, and Phoenicians to the opening up of the ancient world by sea and by land. In recording the achievements of the ancient pioneers he does not himself break much new ground, but he provides a clear and well-balanced account of previous research, based on a wide knowledge of the ancient sources and on a considerable acquaintance with the general literature of travel, in the light of which the performance of the ancient explorers can be assessed more accurately. The author's general good judgment is well exemplified in his skeptical attitude to certain excessive claims made on behalf of ancient seafarers. While rightly concluding that the circumnavigation of Africa by a Phoenician party, *ca* 600 B.C. was well within the bounds of possibility, he refuses to believe that Greek mariners made the crossing to America or discovered a land of "Atlantis" in mid-ocean, or to identify the stone-built Kaffir kraal of Zimbabwe in the gold district of Rhodesia with King Solomon's Ophir.

Professor Hyde has not allowed himself sufficient space for describing the Mediterranean and outer seas on which the ancient mariners set sail, and therefore does not render it easy for his readers to envisage the problems and hazards which beset the early venturers of these waters. Furthermore, he makes no mention of the Greek or Roman or Phoenician mariners who manned the ancient war fleets. Yet these deserve at least a passing notice, for the galleys on which they served were the standard Mediterranean men-of-war from *ca*. 700 B.C. to A.D. 1600, and the "diecplus" which the Athenian fleet practiced was a maneuver comparable in its complexity with Rodney's and Nelson's "breaking of the line."

The following comments on points of detail may be of use: The explorer Hippalus, who established the first Greek open-sea route from Egypt to India, is here made a contemporary of Pliny (*ca*. A.D. 50-70) (p. 24). The most recent research, however, dates him back to *ca*. 100 B.C. (So Otto-Bengtson, *Abhandlungen der bayrischen Akademie*, philosophisch-historische Abteilung [1938], chap. III, and Thiel, *Eudoxus van Cyzicus*. Thiel makes the attractive suggestion that Hippalus was a shipmate of Eudoxus, the first Greek to discover the "law of the monsoons.") The Carthaginians are here said to have imported metals from Scandinavia (presumably the rich iron ore of Sweden) (p. 48). This is most unlikely, for Scandinavia remained *terra incognita* even to the Romans. A reference might have been given, page 62, note 29, to J. M. de Navarro, "Prehistoric Routes between Northern Europe and Italy Defined by the Amber Trade," *Geographical Journal*, LXVI (1925), 481 ff., where the evidence for the ancient amber routes has been best summed up. Though Greek colonization in the western Mediterranean may not have begun before 735 B.C. (p. 104), a survey of pottery finds by Blakeway (British School at Athens, *Annual*, XXXIII [1932-33] ) shows that Greek traders were plying the western seas for a century or more before this date.



The genuineness of the extant fragments of Hecataeus, *Guide round the World* (p. 112, n. 48) is now generally believed to have been established by Jacoby. (Pauly-Wissowa, *Real-encyclopädie der classischen Altertumswissenschaft*, s.v. "Hekataios.") The scraps of information on early travel along the Spanish coast preserved by the Roman poet Avienus (p. 122) have been re-edited in a more authoritative fashion by Berthelot (*Festus Avienus, Ora Maritima*). A systematic discussion of the problems offered by the lamentably inadequate allusions of ancient writers to Pytheas' circumnavigation of Britain (pp. 125-30) will be found in G. E. Broche, *Pythéas le Massaliote*. Professor Broche points out, *inter alia*, that hornets are included in the fauna of Iceland. Recent travelers also report that honey from wild bees may be consumed there. Pytheas' "Thule" (where honey formed part of the native diet) need not therefore be identified with Norway: it may after all be Iceland. "The Persian Gulf fell to Rome under Pompey 66 f. B.C." (p. 203). But the only Roman general who set eyes on its waters was Trajan, and he merely gave it a passing glance.

The book ends with a good description of ancient sailing vessels and instruments of navigation. It might be added here that ancient mariners in a Mediterranean summer found some compensation for their lack of the compass in the trade winds blowing steadily from the same quarter and in the starlit night skies, but that in the absence of all-the-day-round timepieces they had no accurate means of determining longitude.

University of London

M. CARY

STUDIES ON THE HISTORY OF ROMAN SEA-POWER IN REPUBLICAN TIMES. By J. H. Thiel, Professor of Ancient History in the University of Utrecht (Holland). (Amsterdam: North-Holland Publishing Company. 1946. Pp. 456. 25 fl.)

PROFESSOR Thiel presents in this book a very detailed study of Roman naval history from 218 B.C. to the end of the Third Macedonian War. Chapter I (pp. 1-31), entitled "The Romans and the Sea," is a delightful essay on the Roman attitude toward the sea and naval affairs. It is not hard to agree with Professor Thiel that the Romans were landlubbers; as he says (p. 6), the Roman attachment to the sea was not that of the seaman, but rather that of the bather. Chapter II (pp. 32-199), "Sea-power in the Second Punic War," is concerned with Roman and Carthaginian operations during the war, estimates as to the size of the Roman fleet in specific years, and importance of the Roman fleet in determining the course of the war on land. On this latter point, Professor Thiel believes that sheer superiority in ship numbers gave the Romans a tremendous advantage in the war; the Punic fleet was almost immobilized and was thus unable to disturb the Roman maritime communications with Spain or to bring aid to Hannibal in Italy. Chapter III (pp. 200-431), "Roman Naval Warfare from 201 to 167 B.C.,"

describes the operations of the Second and Third Macedonian Wars and the Syrian War against Antiochus the Great. In this period, the allies of Rome (especially the Rhodians) played a major role in the Roman victory, and the decline of the Roman navy is painfully apparent. In chapter iv (pp. 432-47), "The Problem of the Corvus," Professor Thiel accepts the *corvus*, or boarding-bridge, as a historical fact and argues rather convincingly that the device was so heavy and cumbersome that the Romans were forced to abandon it because it made the clumsy Roman warships unseaworthy.

Professor Thiel has made a distinct and lasting contribution to the study of Roman sea power in the Republican period, although it is the opinion of the reviewer that more questions have been raised than answered. Granting that the Roman military genius did not extend to naval operations, it is still difficult to see why their native common sense should desert the Romans when they put out to sea. One gets from Professor Thiel's account the impression that not only the Romans but also their opponents (who were supposed to have great proficiency in naval warfare) were almost incredibly blind and stupid. It is hard to believe that this was actually the case, and it is fair to ask whether a more penetrating analysis of naval strategy during the period 218-167 B.C. is not possible even in view of the paucity of the sources. And one further question: is Polybius *always* completely trustworthy?

The fact that Professor Thiel has written his book in English arouses such a feeling of gratitude that his sometimes unconventional language is readily excusable. Perhaps in Cilicia the pirates did in fact "rule the roast" in the second century B.C. (p. 369). Furthermore, it is a distinct pleasure to read something written in a style which has both vigor and novelty; these are qualities rarely found in the historical literature of our own day. On the other hand, typographical errors abound in this book, and Professor Thiel is inclined to repetition: it should be sufficient to remark once that the royal flagship of Philip "was a parading horse as old as Methuselah" (pp. 251 and 381).

*University of Minnesota*

TOM B. JONES

ETERNAL LAWYER: A LEGAL BIOGRAPHY OF CICERO. By *Robert N. Wilkin*. (New York: Macmillan Company. 1947. Pp. xvi, 264. \$3.00.)

It would be as unfair to quarrel with the spirit which inspired and the industry which produced this essay as it would be to pretend that there is anything in it that adds to or changes the professional historian's knowledge of Cicero. As the advertisement on the jacket reads, "Full enjoyment and understanding of this book presuppose no special knowledge of either law or the ancient world."

The author's main contention is stated in the introduction, written by Louis E. Lord of Scripps College: "Judge Wilkin has done us a great service. He has convinced us that Cicero was not, after all, a political opportunist, a trimmer,

but a Roman patriot whose attitude and actions were invariably determined by his legal training. He was always the lawyer."

It might be better argued that Cicero's career as a lawyer was determined by political considerations than that his politics derived from his devotion to legal principles. In Rome at that time membership in the bar was recognized and embraced as the surest and quickest stepping-stone to political preferment, and Cicero so saw it. Indeed, the pathos of his career is that his ambitions were political rather than professional.

As in so many popular histories written by and addressed to laymen, the author fails to carry his analysis far enough. The issue in Cicero's time was not the simple one of freedom or slavery. The Roman republic of the first century B.C. was not a democracy but an oligarchy composed of a small and narrowly Roman group known as the *ordo senatorius*. The Roman revolution from the Gracchi to Caesar was directed against this oligarchy. Indeed, in the minds of its more radical leaders, the revolution was an attempt, not to overthrow, but to restore, the republic. Cicero, who belonged to the conservative element in the party of reform, favored a policy of compromise which would raise the *ordo equester* to a position of political equality with the *ordo senatorius* (*concordia ordinum*), and widen the base of the ruling oligarchy by making it broadly Italian rather than narrowly Roman (*consensus Italiae*).

This broadening of the base of government was precisely the accomplishment of Augustus and his successors; for, if the Roman republic of the first century B.C. was not a democracy, neither was the principate of the first and second centuries A.D. a tyranny. Thus, in an anomalous way, Cicero's policy was realized, but by methods which he deplored. There is a further anomaly: the golden age of Roman law, when it became, as it were, *natura humana scripta*, lies not in the republican period, when law was the handmaiden of politics, but in the imperial period, when, as a nonpolitical professional, the juriconsult adapted the will of the sovereign to the demands of a universal order.

Ohio State University

W. F. McDONALD

HISTOIRE ROMAINE. Tome IV, Deuxième partie, L'EMPIRE CHRETIEN (325-395). Par *André Piganiol*, Membre de l'Institut, Professeur honoraire aux Universités de Strasbourg et de Paris, Professeur au Collège de France. (Paris: Presses universitaires de France. 1947. Pp. xvi, 446. 350 fr.)

THE *Histoire romaine* of Gustave Glotz's *Histoire générale* is brought to completion with the appearance of Professor Piganiol's book. It is a work of vast erudition, written with vivacity and illuminated, sometimes too brightly, by flights of imagination. The scheme of organization is simple and familiar; there are two main divisions, the first on personages and events and the second on institutions and social life. The much longer first part presents, reign after reign,

the political history of the period covered. In Part Two appear chapters on economic and social conditions, administration, intellectual life, and the like. It was perhaps unavoidable that these later chapters should have somewhat the character of independent essays.

Piganiol clearly establishes the important fact that political and ecclesiastical history are inseparable in the fourth century. This makes it the more surprising to find that the "*personnages*" presented here are chiefly princes, though generals and bishops occasionally receive a brief mention. Rufinus, Prudentius, Macrobius, and Martianus Capella are almost ignored and justice is scarcely done Augustine and Jerome. The lives of these men extend beyond the chronological limits of this book, to be sure, but some of them fare even worse in the first volume of Glotz's medieval series. It is a grave fault, in a study of the fourth century, to give the impression that Valens, or even Julian the Apostate, was so much more important historically than Jerome or Augustine.

Piganiol discloses a marked anti-Christian bias. He maintains that the Middle Ages begin with Constantine (pp. 27, 72) and he notes the emergence of traits that will be called Byzantine and medieval (pp. 168, 370, 387, 419), but he scolds Constantine for having "betrayed" Rome (p. 72) and Theodosius for having put the interests of the church ahead of those of the state (pp. 270-71). The church is censured for not having accepted its responsibilities (pp. 72, 370) and for having "condemned" Roman society (p. 418). The sources cited (p. 202) hardly support the claim concerning Gratian's excessive piety and surely "*pieux*" is a questionable translation of "*verecundus*." Though Augustine is mentioned rarely, the references are vivid; he is described as biased and ignorant (p. 165) and, because of his poor knowledge of Greek, he is called a man of superficial culture (p. 232); again he is accused of insincerity in the *Confessions* (p. 233) and of creating the theory of obscurantism (p. 419). The brief section called "Triomphe de Platon" (p. 401) may be cited as an amazing flight of fancy. Here it is suggested that what Plato dreamed of for a city-state was realized, in the new society of the fourth century, in a vast empire.

The bibliography and notes are excellent and will be useful to all students of the period. Few additions may be made. It is surprising, however, to find no mention of Umberto Moricca, *Storia della letteratura latina cristiana*. Volume II, *Il IV secolo: L'età d'oro della letteratura ecclesiastica occidentale* (Torino, 1928). Neither J. A. McGeachy, jr., *Quintus Aurelius Symmachus and the Senatorial Aristocracy of the West* (Chicago, 1942), nor F. X. Murphy, *Rufinus of Aquileia (345-411): His Life and Works* (Washington, 1945) is mentioned; nor is Dionysius Exiguus's Latin translation of the *Vita Pachomii*. There are occasional minor slips, e.g., "Loops" for Loofs, "Rice Talbot" for Talbot Rice. The index, though useful, is not always complete and there are no maps.

Despite the foregoing criticisms, which are, at least to some extent, matters of one's point of view, this is a work of exceptional merit. A volume at once so

substantial and so lively is a rare event. To many readers *L'empire chrétien* will be especially welcome as a contribution to the growing bibliography on the fall of the Roman Empire. It is regrettable that Professor Piganiol came upon Norman Baynes's recent attempt to explain the decline (*Jour. Rom. Stud.*, XXXIII [1943], 29-35) too late to discuss the Byzantinist's solution, so little in accord with his own, and that he was content to dismiss the views of Sundwall, Dopsch, and Lot with a footnote reference (p. 422, n. 41).

Stanford University

WILLIAM C. BARK

THE ANCIENT MAYA. By *Sylvanus Griswold Morley*, Associate of the Carnegie Institution of Washington. (Stanford: Stanford University Press. 1946. Pp. xxxii, 520. \$10.00.)

It is an old American institution, certainly honored in the case of Sylvanus Griswold Morley's *The Ancient Maya*, that a scientist working in a special field should write a culminating book on his life's work if only to reveal his inner enthusiasms and his own views on large questions. As a reader of Maya dates Morley has long been the best in the game. Countless times his passion has carried him long distances over jungle trails just to record, or check, or recheck a column or two of strange hieroglyphs in one forgotten Maya city or another.

Morley has seen much, recorded much, made many friends, thrilled many listeners—but first and last he is a student of inscriptions and calculations in the famous calendar and day count of the ancient Central American nation called Maya. The terms of this calendar, the formal methods of adding and subtracting days, the devices for retrieving partly destroyed texts: in this type of work he is at his best. He prefers the Maya problem in the abstract, in Maya terms, without complicating references to astronomical meanings in universal chronology. But Morley recognizes that the unbroken nature of the Maya invites correlation outside his neutral machine. Any intelligent person can understand Morley's explanations of the mathematical subject matter of Maya inscriptions and can follow his epigraphic comparisons—any intelligent person, that is, who can be induced to give time and attention in a subject so remote from today's crowded interests.

This illustrated book is full of details interesting to the traveler, the historian, and the general reader. It is replete with plans of ancient cities, views of temples and stelae, and appreciations of art—although here Morley's judgment is not infallible—and contains excellent discussion and documentation of the ways of life, the religion, and the social orders of the Maya, especially as revealed by Bishop Landa and by modern archaeological excavations. He shows drawings of newly discovered frescoes at Uaxactun and photographs of excavations in process.

At this point the tempo of my criticism changes, for Morley's book serves as a release for much work done by other individuals acting under a blueprint supervision of institutional type. In this book Morley succumbs, half-heartedly, to Correlation B between Maya and Christian dates which during his entire associa-

tion with the Carnegie Institution of Washington he consistently has resisted. In what follows, then, let the reader please remember I am not blaming the epigraphist who has done good work but a cohort of others. It is every man's privilege to form his own opinion on any evidence, but I think it is the duty of an institution assuming a practical monopoly frankly to meet challenges and take notice of evidence and opinions contrary to their own. Correlation B is an institutional chronology which should rest on astronomy but which has not been passed upon by the astronomers of the Carnegie Institution itself. In the bibliography of *The Ancient Maya* all mention of fifteen important papers on Maya chronology and the astronomical meanings of Maya dates by famous astronomers of Europe is omitted deliberately. These papers by Hans Ludendorff and Arnost Dittrich, supported by a committee of the Prussian Academy, were written between 1930 and 1939: they examine the relative merits of Correlations A and B and find unequivocally for the former against the latter, which the Carnegie archaeologists still use schematically in their ceramic classifications.

Morley's first and undoubtedly correct adjustment of the katuns or 7200-year periods of the Maya Chronicles was roughly according to Correlation A but without a day-for-day adjustment. In 1920 Morley made a detailed study of colonial records in relation to the Maya day count, making one unfortunate error. The ancient Maya counted their days and used their fourth place value, the katun, as a time period designated by its closing day. At the coming of the Spaniards these katuns were still noted but another system was in use whereby 365-day years were distinguished in groups of 52 by an opening day called the Year-bearer. Bishop Landa gives us the Maya days and month positions of such a year confronting a Spanish one. The point is: a Year 1 Cauac beginning in 1516 and ending in 1517 had as its second day 2 Ahau 3 Pop, which was Katun 2 Ahau of the Chronicles and also was Katun 8 of Baktun 12 of the Long Count from Maya zero. Morley mistakenly put this ending day in 1517 instead of 1516. Pio Perez and Maya scholars had used this configuration with a schematic error and likewise had counted backward from the Baktun 13 with which Goodman begins his Cycle 55.

Correlation B shortens Maya history by 256 years and undoubtedly it was the purpose of the Carnegie ceramists to prove the cultural succession of the Maya by their favorite specialization. They have not done so and indeed the classification of pottery, architecture, and sculpture appears highly vulnerable. On July 3 of this year the writer of this criticism requested the head of the Carnegie Institution of Washington to ask a review of astronomical evidence by his own astronomers. He replied, "Criticize Morley all you want—I cannot interfere."

Certainly the philanthropic sciences of America are confronted by others which might be called anthropobic and all historians and anthropologists must regret this change.

*Brooklyn Museum*

HERBERT J. SPINDEN

LA VIE RURALE EN BOURGOGNE JUSQU'AU DEBUT DU ONZIEME SIECLE. Texte, Appendices, Cartes. Par *André Déléage*, Bibliothécaire à la Sorbonne. (Macon: Protat Frères. 1941. Pp. vi, 698; 703-1474; 31 maps.)

THIS book first reached the United States as a published dissertation under the title *La vie économique et sociale de la Bourgogne dans le haut moyen âge* and was reviewed rather fully by me in the *Journal of Economic History* for November, 1946. André Déléage was one of the most promising students of Marc Bloch. The death of both of them in the war is a very grave loss to medieval history.

The function of the historian is to ask questions and to attempt to find the answers in his material. The value of his work depends very largely on the significance of the questions he asks. But in a period where the material is as scanty as it is for the early Middle Ages many historians have been tempted to reverse the procedure—to examine the material and then ask the questions it will answer even if those questions are of slight importance. Marc Bloch's greatness as a historian lay in the clarity of mind that enabled him to see the significant questions and in the ingenuity and determination with which he used all possible materials to find his answers.

In this massive work M. Déléage has applied Bloch's methods to a limited region—the ancient duchy of Burgundy. He has asked the significant questions and used every known technique to provide answers to them. Place names, archaeological finds, contemporary documents, modern *terroirs* and maps, and studies of the geology, geography, vegetation, and population of the region have all been used to the fullest extent. While his center of interest was Burgundy, M. Déléage did not neglect to use the available information from other regions for comparative purposes. Much of this work simply furnishes valuable additional documentation for theories now fairly generally accepted, but M. Déléage's accounts of the origin of the pattern of settlement in Burgundy and the development of the medieval seigneurie are both new and plausible.

This is not a book for the general reader. It is written for the specialist and no one else can read it either pleasurably or profitably. But no scholar who is interested in the genesis of medieval institutions can afford to neglect it. Marc Bloch blazed a large number of new trails for the medievalist, and André Déléage has gone a long way toward making some of them passable.

*Johns Hopkins University*

SIDNEY PAINTER

KING HENRY III AND THE LORD EDWARD: THE COMMUNITY OF THE REALM IN THE THIRTEENTH CENTURY. Two volumes. By *F. M. Powicke*. (Oxford: At the Clarendon Press. 1947. Pp. viii, 409; 411-858.)

THE preface says this is "a book which can interest any intelligent reader and does not depend upon the footnotes for its comprehension." This means, not popularization but scholarship for intellectual laymen after the manner of recent



works in American history by Morison and Schlesinger. But to do this for the thirteenth century must be more difficult than for the fifteenth or the nineteenth. It was a large order to master the scholarly research and the extensive calendars published during recent decades, and to formulate this synthesis and interpretation based upon them. The "intelligent reader" is presumed to know the narrative of events. The author makes a chronological approach, but he is really analyzing social and institutional developments within the framework of events, instead of treating these topically and descriptively. The reader must apply his attention closely. He will be rewarded with that understanding which comes from realizing how social change results from a complex, day-by-day interplay of persons and interests.

Powicke seems to be applying Collingwood's thesis that "the cause of [a historical] event, for [the historian], means the thought in the mind of the person by whose agency the event came about: and this is not something other than the event, it is the inside of the event." By an effort of active, critical thinking the historian rethinks these thoughts in his own mind. He constructs "a picture which is partly a narrative of events, partly a description of situations, exhibition of motives, analysis of characters." He "aims at making his picture a coherent whole, where every character and every situation is so bound up with the rest that this character in this situation cannot but act in this way." Powicke does this both for individuals and for groups. This requires not only mastery of the record but extraordinary historical imagination, breadth of view, political intuition, and a sympathetic understanding of human affairs. It can be expected only from the most mature scholar.

The reader finds himself considering thirteenth century England through contemporary minds, the minds of men who, being vividly aware of the immediate past and of the prevailing standards of value, acted accordingly. "History," writes Powicke, "even constitutional history, is the history of persons. We are dealing with men who lived well, loved tournaments, and liked romances better than law books," men whose troubles with King Henry "were largely due to bad temper." These "men are doing things because they are convenient and do not attach conscious significance to them, still less consider what the distant outcome of their acts may be." Consequently we see thirteenth century developments as contemporary expedients not as precursors of the future. We must put aside our notions of conscious reform and revolution to understand men whose minds were occupied with customary rights.

From this angle Grosseteste appears as "a bishop with an ideal" not as an anti-papal leader fighting "for some indefinable liberties of the Church of England." The re-evaluation of Simon de Montfort is a masterpiece of scholarly debunking. "Earl Simon, by one of life's little ironies, is remembered as we remember Pym and Fox and Grey. He has become an English worthy. In reality, he is one of the loneliest and most disconcerting figures in our history. He had no roots in Eng-

land and left none behind him." He appears as "one of those terrible men, so frequent in history, who override right in the cause of righteousness," and who give "to a weak cause the quality of a noble adventure." King Henry "was not and did not seriously wish to be an absolute ruler." Neither was Simon a constitutionalist, a radical, nor the introducer of "a democratic element into English government." He was instead an arrogant Frenchman, contemptuous of the English barons, "full of hatred against the men who ruled at court," willing to head a faction and become an autocrat in order to maintain a scheme of government which he had devised and which he believed to be best. But the principles of Magna Carta had been established effectively in the crisis of 1233-34, which was "probably more important than the better known and more prolonged assertion of baronial opinion" under de Montfort.

The conquest of Wales also, under rigorous analysis of contemporary problems, appears as something very much less than the story of "a people rightly struggling to be free." The clash of local customs, the questions of jurisdiction, the ambitions of persons, all are seen in shorter perspective. This is one of the most enlightening parts of a very illuminating book. Patriotic Welshmen may not be pleased. But for Americans interested in the influence of the frontier this and the discussions relative to the Marchers of the Welsh border are particularly recommended.

It would take too long to outline the steps by which the Englishmen in this period came to "the realization of the community of the realm." This is one of Powicke's main themes. Its development requires the interpretation of the inner meaning of numerous, diverse events. One can believe that this change in point of view did take place, while suspecting that Edward's generation sensed it more vaguely than we do who read this book. Along with this goes the theme of the medieval concept of kingship, formulated by Grosseteste and Bracton, and practiced by Henry, Edward, and Louis IX. Even more are we impressed with the legalistic side of medieval society. Feudal men were disputatious and litigious to a degree overlooked by those who view the Middle Ages as a romantic age of faith. This emphasis is most welcome.

*Williams College*

RICHARD A. NEWHALL

THE CORRESPONDENCE OF SIR THOMAS MORE. Edited by *Elizabeth Frances Rogers*. (Princeton: Princeton University Press. 1947. Pp. xxii, 584. \$7.50.)

THIS is a volume worthy to take its place beside the ten volumes so far published of P. S. Allen's *Opus Epistolarum Erasmi*. More was the younger of the two famous friends, and it seems appropriate that a younger friend of Professor and Mrs. Allen has done for More what they had done for Erasmus, with equal devotion and scholarly care.

Much of More's correspondence was lost after his execution and there is therefore relatively little continuity in what has survived, except for a few groups of letters like the famous series from prison. Beside the 3,000 items in Erasmus' surviving correspondence, the 200-odd items listed here seem scanty indeed. Gathering the letters together where they may be read in sequence "does make a contribution to the understanding of More," as the editor suggests, but as one reads through the volume, the chief value of the work to scholars appears to be the critical editing of an important though disjointed set of materials for the understanding of a good many different things in early Tudor history.

Most of the letters fall into three classes: personal correspondence with family and friends, official correspondence on both foreign and domestic affairs, and scholarly comment and controversy, both humanistic and theological. Following sixteenth century practice, prefatory epistles from books have wisely been included, but the inclusion of seven formal diplomatic commissions to More and others seems of somewhat dubious value. All but sixteen of the letters have been printed or calendared elsewhere, but very often in volumes that are now extremely rare. Some fifty letters to or from Erasmus printed by Allen are not reprinted here. (Two others not from Erasmus but given by Allen are somewhat illogically reprinted.) One reference to a letter from Erasmus (no. 193) should have been eliminated since it is not addressed to More (Allen X, no. 2870).

In general the editing has been well done. Since publishing her "Calendar" of More's correspondence in the *English Historical Review* twenty-five years ago, Miss Rogers has searched out fifteen more items and exercised a great deal of patience and ingenuity in dating the letters, collating the manuscripts, and tracking down obscure references. If anything, her notes are too full rather than too meager. The usefulness of the volume might have been increased by a fuller indexing of subjects and a more careful alphabetical listing of all abbreviations in the bibliography. This reviewer is not competent to judge the editor's treatment of the Latin originals, but it is evident that in most technical matters she has followed Allen, the best of models. Both editor and publisher should be proud of their service to scholarship and to the memory of a great scholar.

Princeton University

E. HARRIS HARBISON

DANTE ALIGHIERI, CITIZEN OF CHRISTENDOM. By *Gerald G. Walsh, S.J.* (Milwaukee: Bruce Publishing Company. 1946. Pp. viii, 183.)

FATHER Walsh's book can perhaps best be characterized as a modern commentary to the *Divine Comedy*. Its main purpose is an explanation of the poem, but this explanation is connected with an elucidation of the facts of Dante's life and of the development of his mind, and Dante's personal story is interwoven with a discussion of the general history of his age. The interpretation of the *Inferno* is related along with the description of Dante's personal fortunes and political

activity and naturally forms the most colorful part of the book. On the other hand, it is admirable how Father Walsh succeeds in also maintaining the interest of the reader in the later parts of the book in which the interpretation of the *Purgatorio* and the *Paradiso* leads to a discussion of more abstract topics—like the aesthetic, philosophical, and religious development of Dante and his time. In general, the book will serve as an excellent introduction to the *Divine Comedy*, but students of Dante's works will also welcome the book as a stimulus.

It is clear that, in a book of this introductory character, the author cannot enter the many scholarly disputes which divide Dante scholars, nor can he give detailed scholarly justifications of his way of interpreting difficult points. But—despite his outwardly eschewing all scholarly apparatus—there is no doubt of the wide knowledge and extensive scholarship of the author, and many discussions—as, for instance, the one on the so-called four senses (literal, allegorical, moral, and anagogic)—are models of clarity. Partly, perhaps, because of the introductory character of the book, but more probably because of his personal inclinations, Father Walsh takes a rather conservative attitude toward the problems arising out of an analysis of Dante's personality and work. He is neither willing to accept modern psychological interpretations nor does he believe in the theory that mystical trends or opposition to the worldly power of the church had a strong impact on the formation of Dante's mind. The Dante who emerges from Father Walsh's book is fundamentally a very harmonious personality, well in balance with himself and with the world. Father Walsh summarizes Dante's character as being that of "a laughing citizen of Christendom, loving nature, people, poetry and prayer, and, above else, the power, the wisdom, and the love that 'moves the sun and all the stars.'" It appears to the reviewer that, in Father Walsh's exposition of Dante's personality, the fact that Dante's revelation of the harmony of paradise could be achieved only at the cost of his having nearly lost his way in the maze of Hell is not sufficiently emphasized.

The purpose of Father Walsh's book is not only the explanation of the meaning of the *Divine Comedy*. Its title is *Dante Alighieri, Citizen of Christendom*, and in calling Dante a "citizen of Christendom," Father Walsh wants to suggest that Dante "may be the kind of 'whole man' that our educators are looking for, the kind of man the age of tomorrow will need as its citizen of 'one world.'" Moreover, he tries to show that Dante's idea of world organization is very similar—or even identical—to the concepts on which the charter of the United Nations is based. But there are only a few pages in which Father Walsh elaborates on this thesis. The introduction of this theme, therefore, will not prevent readers from enjoying the book who, because of changed historical circumstances, find such similarities more accidental and less significant than Father Walsh does.

It is only natural that Dante lovers will sometimes differ from the author in the interpretation of an individual passage, and it would be rather ungrateful, in a short review of a very delightful book, to list such disagreements in detail. I

want to protest, however, against one interpretation because it concerns a passage which is very near to the heart of every Dante lover. In discussing the canto on Francesca and Paolo, Father Walsh writes that Dante "heightens the romantic aspect of the triple tragedy by denying the lovers the full solace of their sin. In Dante's myth the lovers are caught and killed in the act of kissing. But that is conveyed to us only by the sound of the line. It is conveyed unmistakably. If you read the line aloud, with a slight emphasis on the explosive sounds and on the decreasing intensity of the continuant breathings, you will feel that Dante is suggesting the sudden stab of the sword, the first loud gasp of the victims and the rallentando of their dying breaths. *Quel giorno piu non vi leggemmo avante.*" No, that is not correct. I don't agree that the sound of this line suggests what Father Walsh says. Dante, by breaking off at this place, conveys a very different meaning of what occurred after the reading was interrupted, and if one needs philological proof, it may be mentioned that Father Walsh seems not to have given enough attention to Francesca's words that she is narrating only "*la prima radice*" of her love. Whereas, in general, I am inclined to say that Father Walsh's Dante interpretation is somewhat too conservative, in this case I believe one should be more traditionalistic than he is.

Bryn Mawr College

FELIX GILBERT

## Modern European History

STATESMEN AND SEA POWER. By *Admiral Sir Herbert Richmond*, Master of Downing College, Late Professor of Imperial and Naval History in the University of Cambridge. (Oxford: At the Clarendon Press. 1946. Pp. xi, 369.)

ADMIRAL Richmond's final opus—he died a few weeks after the publication of the English edition—is the fitting summary of a lifework devoted to the study of the growth of British sea power. In the bird's-eye view of its evolution from the Elizabethans to the surrender of Japan which he unrolls before us, he has striven to distill for us the very essence of that great historical phenomenon. British strategy, he shows, has from the very outset been confronted with singularly complex and difficult issues. On the one hand, sad experiences both in the latter stages of the conflict with Philip of Spain and in the first war with the Dutch early taught British leaders the necessity of striving, above all, for the control of the sea, as the *sine qua non* of their entire system, simultaneously assuring their home country against invasion, their trade against interruption except by sporadic attack, and their colonies against attacks in strength from European rivals. Yet this system of the "command," as Richmond has pointed out with ever-increasing insistence against the older misconception of British strategy as "splendid isolation," was never enough. In order to prevent her enemy of the

moment—Spain, France, or Germany—from establishing control over the European continent and then, with concentrated resources, confronting her with an overwhelming array of naval force, Britain again and again has been forced to mobilize that enemy's Continental rivals against him and ultimately to become engaged, with large-scale land forces, in the Continental struggle. Command of the sea and maintenance of the Continental balance of power have thus been the two intimately correlated parts of Britain's system of strategy, and the question of how to apportion her limited resources between them has been the supreme, and often highly delicate, issue which her statesmen have had to face from Elizabeth onwards. It is this supreme issue which in the course of his work has more and more attracted Richmond's attention and which he pursues here through the decisions and minutes of her statesmen as well as through the great controversies which have raged around it, from King William's days and the Seven Years' War to the struggle between the Continental and maritime schools in the two world wars.

The execution of that great theme is fully worthy of its conception, both in its penetrating analysis of the innermost strategic issues of Britain's great conflicts and in the surprising new light thrown upon the infinitely less well known periods between them—there is an excellent discussion of the period 1714-39, a whole chapter devoted to the decade between 1783 and 1793 and another to the nineteenth century. Yet throughout it all a number of weaknesses which had already made themselves felt in Richmond's previous work are plainly apparent. He devotes a great deal of attention to bringing out clearly the increasing exertions imposed upon Britain in order to maintain her naval predominance: the necessity of rising in the beginning of the eighteenth century from a one- to a two-power standard when the intimate connection between the two Bourbon powers began to make the prospect of having to meet both of them together almost inevitable; the similar necessity at the height of the naval rivalry at the end of the nineteenth and the opening of the twentieth century; above all, the fallacy of believing, after Washington, in the possibility of protecting a two-hemisphere empire without a two-hemisphere fleet. But he completely bypasses the closely related strategic complications brought about by the expansion of the field of action of British sea power from the Narrow Seas first to the western Mediterranean and then across the northern Atlantic—excellently discussed by Richard Pares in his *War and Trade in the West Indies*; and he is quite definitely inadequate in his analysis of the ever more complex problems of the last war. Again, his sweeping survey of the disposition of battle fleets, combined expeditions, and armies unfortunately fails to devote any attention to one of the most neglected, and yet most important, aspects of the evolution of British sea power, the development of the system of defense of trade and in particular of the convoy system, for which his study should have been the obvious synthesis. Another characteristic weakness is his neglect of the enemy's side of the picture.

Although Richmond, far more than his great teacher Corbett, can claim to have set British naval history firmly upon the solid path of "staff histories" written from the documents themselves, he has never fully succeeded in realizing that in order to be complete such a staff history must be written from the archives of both contestants. Not to enter into any of the previous chapters, his discussion of German strategy in the two world wars is not on a par with the rest of his work. Upon a still larger scale this failure to see the other side together with his own has resulted in the complete neglect of the changes in sea power brought about by the evolution of the land powers against which it directed itself. It is obvious that the imposition of a commercial blockade had a completely different effect upon the national economies of sixteenth century Spain, seventeenth century Holland, eighteenth century France, and twentieth century Germany and Japan. And the same is true of the distractive effect of combined operations and other factors.

Yet, with all its inevitable limitations, *Statesmen and Sea Power* remains a great book, one that is not written every day and that will live for many years, perhaps for ever.

Washington, D.C.

HERBERT ROSINSKI

NELSON. By *Carola Oman*. (Garden City, N. Y.: Doubleday and Company. 1946. Pp. xiv, 748. \$5.00.)

FIFTY years ago Captain Mahan completed his two-volume *Life of Nelson: The Embodiment of the Sea Power of Great Britain*, a masterly combination of shrewd observations on human nature and brilliant descriptions of naval actions. Since then we have had a steady stream of books about the victor of Trafalgar, all too many by amateur Stracheys centering their attention on Lady Hamilton and all too few by students conversant with the Napoleonic period. It has remained for the daughter of a distinguished British historian, herself the author of several biographies and of an entertaining though somewhat superficial account of Bonaparte's projected invasion of England, to attempt the first full-length portrait in half a century. In the finished product the good and the bad pretty much cancel out each other.

The merits of Miss Oman's work are many. She has probably examined more Nelson manuscripts than any previous writer and has used them with intelligence and discrimination. Her critical handling of the more familiar printed Nelsoniana represents scholarship of the highest order. Her canvas is broad, her treatment comprehensive. With the surface manifestations of life under George III she is thoroughly familiar, and her facility in grouping details occasionally results in striking pen pictures. Skillfully chosen quotations from letters and memoirs provide an air of contemporaneity. The style is good, the documentation satisfactory, and the index adequate though overly complex. An introductory sketch



of earlier lives and the sources on which they were based replaces a formal bibliography. Best of all, the author has kept her balance. She is neither a hero-worshiper nor a debunker; she considers fully and objectively both the admiral and the man.

Despite these undoubted accomplishments Miss Oman can be criticized on three counts. First and foremost, she has failed to make her subject live. The Nelson that emerges from her pages is a series of fleeting impressions, sorely lacking in substance and focus. Piling fact on fact, incident on incident, allowing the irrelevant to vie with the significant, the author has deprived her central figure of the vividness and reality that she has conferred on minor personages and peripheral topics. Interpretation, judgment, and sustained analysis are conspicuously absent. In the final chapter, for example, more attention is paid to the pageantry of Nelson's state funeral and to the vicissitudes of his family than to his place in history and to the manner in which this portrait differs from earlier versions.

The diplomatic and naval themes both suffer from the same want of sharpness and meaning. Neither are projected against a proper background. In Nelson's day alliances were formed and dissolved with breath-taking rapidity, dynasties rose and fell almost overnight, and decisive battles crowded upon each other; yet Miss Oman does little to help even the expert with names and dates. Sometimes, as with Nelson's activity in the Bay of Naples in 1799, the story becomes unintelligible without such assistance. One has only to turn to Mahan with his exact chronology and careful setting of the stage for each major event to note the difference. A similar comparison for Nelson's smashing sea victories does not redound to Miss Oman's credit. Admittedly not an authority on naval warfare, she manifests little feeling for strategy, tactics, logistics, or command relationships. Far from adding to Mahan's classic account, she has not even matched it. Her narrative, moreover, is badly handicapped by the unbelievable omission of all charts, maps, diagrams, and statistics to illustrate the triumphs of England's greatest admiral. In short, there is nothing in this book for the naval historian.

Although this reviewer found the biography worth the price of admission, he is not prepared to substitute it on his library shelf for that by Captain Mahan. In fact most readers will find Miss Oman easier going if they keep the Mahan volumes conveniently at hand.

*Harvard University*

RICHARD W. LEOPOLD

THE QUEST FOR SECURITY, 1715-1740. By *Penfield Roberts*, Late Professor of History at the Massachusetts Institute of Technology. [The Rise of Modern Europe, edited by William L. Langer.] (New York: Harper and Brothers. 1947. Pp. x, 300. \$4.00.)

"PROBABLY no phase of modern European history has been so long and so

generally neglected as the period covered by this volume," writes Professor Langer in his introduction. In addition to making a major contribution to the historical literature of this period, the late Professor Roberts performs admirably that function of intelligent synthesis for which this series is becoming so well known. Both in the text and in the remarkably suggestive notes and bibliographical chapter, the insights derived from accumulated monographic investigation and from changing trends of historical interpretation are usefully reflected and summarized. The volume is particularly inspiring for the luminous way in which it points to lacunae in the present state of knowledge and summons scholars to further research. It is extremely regrettable that Professor Roberts' untimely death has deprived this period of historical investigation of so able a scholar. But at least we have this present work, which is as meticulous in form as it is thoughtful in content.

Professor Roberts' volume contains a particularly skillful account of the tangled diplomacy of this era, accompanied by incomparably clear expositions of such complicated phenomena as the Pragmatic Sanction, the Jansenist agitations in France, and the workings of the several ingenious financial schemes which disillusioned speculators called "bubbles." Worthy of mention, too, are his remarks on the music of the day, remarks which bear every evidence of combining the zeal of the amateur with the *savoir* of the musicologist. And in his observations on the social system of the time, and especially on agriculture, he goes as far as can be in accomplishing what is easy to intend but hard to perform—the description of conditions in Europe as a whole.

It is through this analysis of European social and intellectual conditions as a whole that the main theme of the book emerges. This theme is that in the years 1715-1740 there occurred a conservative reaction through which corporate social groups tried to reassert themselves and safeguard their power against such overmighty sovereigns as Louis XIV had been. It is true that this conservative reaction against centralized authority, whether lay or ecclesiastical, is a little hard to identify because it was not highly organized and articulate but, on the contrary, was largely spontaneous and unintellectual. But it was there, representing an attempted reversion to the medieval corporate practices of the *Ständestaat*. Thus we see that in the period 1715-1740 the ruling classes of Europe, in their quest for security, endeavored to perpetuate a society which was not individualistic nor egalitarian but corporate. Ultimately this effort failed, largely because of the social corrosiveness of the corollaries embedded in the doctrines of Locke. Accordingly, this period marked a turning point in the development of the governmental and social institutions of modern Europe.

Some events perhaps worthy of mention are not discussed in this volume, such as the pestilence at Marseilles in 1720, the publication of the *Henriade* and of the *Lettres persanes*, the expulsion of Protestants from Salzburg in 1731-1732, the civic troubles at Geneva in 1737-1738, and the Corsican adventures of King

Theodore I. A map showing European boundaries in 1740 might have been included, to match the one for 1715. The fifty-four illustrations are excellent.

Dartmouth College

ARTHUR M. WILSON

MACHIAVELLI. By *J. H. Whitfield*. (Oxford: Basil Blackwell; New York: William Salloch. 1947. Pp. vii, 167. \$4.50.)

PROFESSOR Etienne Gilson once said to me that a man in a provincial university with a small library might be fortunately situated if he was thereby driven back on the texts of the great authors, instead of the books about them; from close study of the originals might come the best generalizations. Far too little close study has been given to the text of Machiavelli and strange have been the generalizations made about him. Is there any great author about whom more books have been written with less that is new in them? It is, then, a pleasure to come upon a book by an author who has applied himself to Machiavelli's writings and who has had ability and courage to hold to what he finds there, consecrated views notwithstanding. Indeed, much space is given to clearing away ill-founded and arbitrary opinions of preceding writers, such as that of Niccolò as a cold scientist.

Mr. Whitfield interprets Machiavelli as a man who burned with "an immense desire to achieve a good state of society" (p. 15). This belief he founds partly on the *Legations*, which "encourage no misconceptions as to the honesty of his character" (p. 50). One who understands this can see that *The Prince* is not the presentation of disinterested theory; yet because of its brevity and occasional quality, background must often be supplied from the other works. A chapter is devoted to Machiavelli and Savonarola, in which it appears that the former agreed with many of the political ideas of the prophet, but objected to his character, "judging him from some more lofty stance than we had expected." In bringing together the passages on the Frate, including the one in which he is called *versuto*—defined in Florio's *Dictionary* (1688) as "full of crafty, wily, and cunning shifts"—Mr. Whitfield, like other writers on the subject, misses an illuminating alternative reading in an autograph of the *Andria*, which goes: "*To son Davo, non el frate*" (1.2). To the *Discorsi*, "the capital book of Machiavelli," the longest chapter is devoted. The author deplores the relatively small amount of critical study given to the content of this work and supplies some of it, especially on Machiavelli's sources, which are used to make his thought clear. The idea behind the *Discorsi* is that "it is the office of a good man to teach to others the good which the malignity of his time or of his lot prevents him from accomplishing, so that some of them, being capable of it, more favored by heaven, may carry it out." The *bene comune*, or general good, is the author's first interest.

Though a work presenting so excellent a view of Machiavelli deserves wide circulation among those who do not read Italian, its usefulness to them will be limited by the author's tendency to cite in the original only. And sometimes when

he does translate he carries over Italian words in such a way as to make the reading difficult for one who needs the English; for example the word *umori*, meaning, as Ercole has shown, something like "partisan activities," is rendered as "humours." Yet even those who read only English can find profit in Mr. Whitfield's sound generalities.

*Duke University*

ALLAN H. GILBERT

POLAND'S PLACE IN EUROPE. Edited by Zygmunt Wojciechowski. (Poznan: Instytut Zachodni. 1947. Pp. 460.)

THE background history of this recent publication of the Western Institute of the University of Poznan deserves attention and respect. As a co-operative study by four well-qualified Polish historians it was prepared and in part secretly written during the German occupation of Poland between 1939 and 1945. It was published in abstracto shortly, perhaps too shortly, after Poland's liberation to bring it up to standards of technical scholastic perfection. Yet undoubtedly shortcomings in this respect—lack of an adequate bibliography and index, as well as defective quotations—may easily be excused by the necessarily still straitened conditions of Polish scholarly activities.

It is questionable, however, whether such considerations justify serious shortcomings in regard to editorial policy and political philosophy. *Poland's Place in Europe*, despite its misleading title, deals almost exclusively with the history of German-Polish relations. As such it is predominantly a plea for the historical, geographic, and strategic justification of the Polish frontiers as—according to Polish claims—definitely agreed upon at the Potsdam Conference, with the astounding proviso, however, that the desired Oder-Nisa frontier should not even be confined to the right bank of this river system but should comprise the whole Oder Valley including its left bank, the Gulf of Stettin, Frankfurt on the Oder, Greifswald, Swinemünde, and Küstrin. To be sure, such a plea may possibly be comprehended, though not justified, on political grounds. Yet it is more than questionable whether this study can claim, as it does, impartial historical, economic, and ethnic reasoning. Certainly the authors cannot be excused for practically ignoring, for however compelling political motives, the whole complex of Poland's Eastern policy, which today necessitates its radical geographic reorientation to the West.

This one-sided nationalist-political approach is least disturbing in Tadeusz Lehr-Splawinski's ethnic-historical analysis of "The Origin and Ancestral Home of the Slavs" and in Maria Kielczewska-Zaleska's in many ways brilliantly written essay on the "Geographic Bases of Poland." Yet even here a geopolitical plea based on Poland's central position in Europe, not only between West and East "but less obvious [indeed] North and South" is, to say the least, astonishing.

Even more questionable is Zygmunt Wojciechowski's line of argumentation.

In his "Poland and Germany, Ten Centuries of Struggle" and "The Left Bank of the Oder" the conquests of the Piast dynasty from the tenth to the twelfth century serve largely as a means of justifying Poland's present aspirations in the Oder Valley. The consequences of Russia's most active participation in the partitions of the kingdom and her nineteenth century anti-Polish policy are consistently underrated and the effects of Prussia's ominous policy of Germanization conversely somewhat overplayed. Yet, at the same time, in an essay jointly written with the recently deceased, distinguished historian Jozef Feldman, "Poland and Germany, the Last Ten Years," the author assails the peacemakers of Versailles for "their inclination to demarcate the territory of individual states in a manner corresponding as far as possible with their present nationality distribution instead of the strategic necessity."

These and similar techniques are, according to Wojciechowski, to justify the admittedly "undisputable fact . . . that Poland is proposed to expand far beyond its ethnic range, into a region which for two hundred years has been indubitably German." It is further admitted that this urgently requested expansion can be enforced only "to a certain degree" by "the purposeful expulsion of the remainder [of the German population] by means analogous to those invented and employed by the Germans themselves during the war. . . ."

Obviously not only the Stuarts and the Bourbons have learned nothing and forgotten nothing through the ordeals of historical experience.

*Rutgers University*

ROBERT A. KANN

THE VOYAGE OF CAPTAIN BELLINGSHAUSEN TO THE ANTARCTIC SEAS, 1819-1821. Edited by *Frank Debenham*, Director of the Scott Polar Research Institute, Cambridge. [The Hakluyt Society, Second Series, N. XCI, XCII.] (London: the Society. 1945. Pp. xxx, 259; viii, 261-474. £3. 15s.)

THE appearance of this excellent first English translation of a narrative report a full century and a quarter after the expedition it describes, is an event of much importance in the history of exploration. The original in the Russian language was not published until a full decade after the completion of the voyage. No copy of this original had been discovered in this country, and in Great Britain the only copies were those in the libraries of the British Museum and the Royal Geographical Society. A copy of the atlas which accompanied the report has long been in the Library of Congress. In the new English translation the maps of the atlas have been inserted in the text.

The Russian expedition was one of the greatest, as well as one of the earliest to penetrate into Antarctic seas, and Bellingshausen's discovery of Antarctic land (Peter I Island) in the extreme southern latitude of 69° was antedated by but one Antarctic landfall, and that only thirty-nine days earlier, by the twenty-one-year-

old American, Captain Nathaniel Brown Palmer of Stonington, Connecticut.

Palmer's Land, now on the maps as the great Palmer Peninsula of the Antarctic continent, was skirted and imperfectly mapped by the American sea captain on November 18, 1820, and Bellingshausen's Peter I Island the Russian sighted on December 29, 1820.

On February 5, 1821, there occurred the most dramatically interesting incident in all Antarctic history. Within that vast waste of waters while enveloped in heavy fog, the crews on the ships of Bellingshausen and Palmer were startled by the sound of bells coming to them out of the fog. As the fog lifted, Palmer on the tiny *Hero* saw a frigate and a sloop-of-war with Russian colors flying, and the near approach of a man-o'-war's longboat. He was invited on board Bellingshausen's flagship *Vostok*, and in rough sealer's working suit, he was ushered into the august presence of the Russian commander and his staff, all in full naval uniform. The conversation which followed was carried on through the medium of an interpreter, with little doubt Captain Lazareff of the *Mirnje*, who had served in the British Navy. The accounts of this interview by the two principals to it agree well, though Palmer's is much the more complete.

When in reply to a question of the Russian commander, Palmer told of the Antarctic land he had discovered, Bellingshausen asked, "How far south have you been?" "I gave him," reports Palmer, "the latitude and longitude of my lowest point. He rose much agitated, begging I would produce my logbook and chart, with which request I complied and a boat was sent for it. When the logbook and chart were laid upon the table, he examined them carefully without comment, then rose from his seat saying, 'What do I see and what do I hear from a boy in his teens—that he is commander of a tiny boat of the size of a launch of my frigate . . . and sought the point I, in command of one of the best appointed fleets at the disposal of my august master, have for three long, weary, anxious years searched day and night for.' With his hand on my head he added, 'What shall I say to my master? What will he think of me? But be that as it may, my grief is your joy; wear your laurels with my sincere prayers for your welfare. I name the land you have discovered, noble boy, Palmer's Land.'"

Palmer's logbook, recently recovered at Stonington, is now preserved in a safe at the Library of Congress. This is fortunate, for Bellingshausen's narrative account does not include this portion of their conversation, and Editor Debenham has devoted four pages of his introduction in an effort to impugn the truthfulness of Palmer's report, and further, to prove that not he, but the British captain, Edward Bransfield, R. N., was the real discoverer of the sixth continent.

The suppression from the narrative of his generous though impulsive and somewhat presumptuous speech, came quite naturally to Bellingshausen. Wholly apart from his need to win the approval of his august master, he no doubt on reflection realized that custom had accorded to explorers the right to name the lands they discover. Moreover, in the decade which had elapsed, Palmer's Land

had for four years appeared as the only Antarctic land on the standard maps throughout Europe, and for the remainder of the decade on many of them.

The first map to show Antarctic land based on discovery had been Woodbridge's "Map of the Hemispheres." This showed Palmer's Land in its correct position. It had been published at Hartford on September 28, 1821, only five months after Palmer's return to Connecticut. On November 1, 1822, the British admiralty published a copy of Palmer's map of the South Shetland Islands with Palmer's Land and the Powell (South Orkney) Islands, which had been discovered by Powell and Palmer cruising in the ships *Dove* and *James Monroe*. This map the admiralty credited to the British sealing captain. On November 4, 1824, the admiralty issued an official chart of South America with the same material on it, but soon after they evidently recalled both maps, for they are not now to be found in the great libraries of the world. A few copies only are known to exist. The only copy of the admiralty chart of 1824, so far as is known, is in the Library of Congress, but the pertinent portion of it was reproduced in *Science* of June 23, 1939.

Though not mentioned by either Bellingshausen or Palmer, there is internal evidence in the former's report that he had been given a copy of Palmer's map, which then included also the South Shetland Islands. These islands Bellingshausen skirted soon after their meeting. His map of them (p. 436 of the translation) shows in heavy lines all coasts which he could have seen, but the hidden coasts are dotted very lightly in accordance with Palmer's map as published by the admiralty a year later. To this there is an exception for Elephant and Clarence Islands, which could not have been on the map at that time, since Palmer did not survey them until a year later, though in time to appear on the map as published in London.

Bellingshausen was perhaps the most distinguished of the three great Russian explorers of the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries, Bering, Krusenstern, and Bellingshausen. Bering's name is attached to a great sea of the Arctic, and Bellingshausen's to an almost equally large one in the Antarctic.

*Ann Arbor, Michigan*

WILLIAM H. HOBBS

THE RUSSIAN RELIGIOUS MIND. By *George P. Fedotov*. (Cambridge: Harvard University Press. 1946. Pp. xvi, 438. \$6.00.)

THE scope of Mr. Fedotov's work is in some ways wider than its title suggests: it is an analysis of Russian culture during the so-called Kievan period of Russian history. Mr. Fedotov brings to the study of this subject a rich and varied knowledge and the sharp edge of his versatile, inquiring mind. Originally a student of Western medieval history, he is thoroughly at home in the problems of general and Eastern Orthodox theology, and is himself both a religious and a political philosopher with a definite, clear-cut conception of the underlying trends of



Russian history. The result is a stimulating work which will become indispensable to all students of Russian history, theology, literature, and culture in general.

The method used by the author is a combination of analysis and synthesis. In his introduction he expresses his conviction that "historical problems are revealed only by a preliminary, clearcut, provocative synthesis." Those who are familiar with Mr. Fedotov's Russian writings know that he is one of the most stimulating and provocative Russian thinkers today. His synthesis of early Russian religious culture, summarized in the last fifty pages of his book is provocative enough; but there is also sufficient thought-provoking material in the earlier chapters of his book which can be divided into two parts: a general outline of the religious background of the period—and in particular of pre-Christian Russian paganism and of the religious mentality of Byzantium—and a masterly analysis of Russian religious life, based primarily on literature of the eleventh through the thirteenth centuries. Mr. Fedotov stresses especially the duality of the Russian religious and ethical ideal, the opposition between the prevailing Byzantine type of Christ-Pantocrator and the kenotic Christ, dearer and closer to the early Russians. He brings out clearly the entirely historical nature of early Russian theology, its lack of rational or logical elements (a fact repercussions of which we find throughout Russian history). He proves convincingly, in the teeth of a widespread view, the predominantly social aspect of Russian religious ethics, especially of Russian monasticism, the role in it of charity. He has some interesting things to say about the ancient Russian idea of the state, his conclusion being that "never in her historical life has Russia been nearer the realization of political freedom than in the glorious days of her youth." He is far from idealizing Kievan Russia, but his general conclusion is that "Kievan Christianity has the same value for the Russian religious mind as Pushkin for the Russian artistic sense: that of a standard, a golden measure, a royal way."

Apart from a few stylistic lapses the book is presented to the English-speaking reader in an eminently readable form, even though one misses the incisive brilliance of Mr. Fedotov's Russian style. A long selected bibliography is attached to the book. We noted the omission in it of the one and only English work on a cognate subject, namely, N. Gorodetzky's *The Humiliated Christ in Russian Thought and Literature*, and of Professor A. Mazon's recent work on *Slovo o polku Igoreve*.

One will await with impatience the appearance of further volumes, this being only the first installment of a bigger work covering the whole history of the Russian religious mind.

*University of California*

GLEB STRUVE

## American History

THE SPANISH EMPIRE IN AMERICA. By C. H. Haring, Robert Woods Bliss Professor of Latin-American History and Economics, Harvard University. (New York: Oxford University Press. 1947. Pp. viii, 388. \$5.00.)

THIS volume is a welcome addition to the literature in English concerning Spain, a country whose history has in recent years been neglected by historical scholars. That it is concerned with Spain in America should make it particularly welcome to American students of history, whose attention has recently been often called to the need of improving our knowledge of Middle and South America. *The Spanish Empire in America* is the outcome of a series of lectures given by the author in 1934 at the Instituto Hispano Cubano of the University of Seville. Various topics considered in this book have been treated by Altamira, Bourne, Desdévise du Dezert, Mecham, Roscher, and Ruíz Guiñazú.

Dr. Haring states in his preface that the needed preparatory studies for a volume on the Spanish Empire in America are inadequate or utterly lacking, that masses of inedited documents which concern his theme still await examination, and that his book does not pretend to be definitive. Indeed to a not inconsiderable extent it is based upon secondary accounts. Footnote references to authorities at times seem to be inadequate, but readers are directed for enlightenment to a bibliography which is arranged by topics. Although selected monographic studies are cited in footnotes and other items are listed in the bibliography, yet some useful works are not mentioned. Among works mainly concerned with social and economic topics the following omissions may be noted: Alejandro Garland, *Estudio económico sobre los medios circulantes usados en el Perú*; *Antecedentes de política económica en el Río de la Plata*, edited by Roberto Levillier; Carlos O. Bunge, *Historia del derecho argentino*; *Documentos para la historia económica de México*; and *Guía del archivo histórico de hacienda*.

This treatise is comprehensive in scope. It deals particularly with the period extending from the discovery of America to the opening of the struggles for independence. To an extent it describes the transplantation of Iberian people, laws, and institutions to the New World. Though considerable attention is paid to social and intellectual conditions in Spanish America, the main emphasis is upon the complicated political system. Even the little-known *auditor de guerra* does not pass unnoticed. Here and there suggestive comparisons are made of Spain's overlapping administrative system with other contemporary systems of colonial management. The author's conception of Spanish colonial policy inclines more toward the sympathetic presentation in Edward G. Bourne's *Spain in America* than to the view taken by believers in *la leyenda negra*. Some readers will perhaps regret that certain administrative details were not suppressed and more attention paid to the pageant of colonial life. Serious students of the history of Latin America will

naturally differ with regard to the relative emphasis which should be laid upon this or that feature of Spanish activity in the New World. Special attention might well have been paid in this survey to the frontier, the infiltration of foreign philosophy, and the ecclesiastical administration which developed in the Spanish Indies.

It is misleading to convey the impression on adjacent pages that the territorial jurisdiction of the *audiencia* of Charcas, which early included Paraguay as well as parts of Argentina, corresponded to "modern Bolivia." Until monographic studies have been thoroughly exploited, unused archival materials published, and important topics investigated by trained scholars, however, this treatise will remain the most useful volume in English concerning the administration of the Spanish Empire in America before 1808. It will be particularly helpful to students in university courses on colonial Latin America. Maps illustrative of administrative divisions would have added to its usefulness.

*University of Illinois*

WILLIAM SPENCE ROBERTSON

THE NEW WORLD: THE FIRST PICTURES OF AMERICA, MADE BY JOHN WHITE AND JACQUES LE MOYNE AND ENGRAVED BY THEODORE DEBRY, WITH CONTEMPORARY NARRATIVES OF THE HUGUENOT SETTLEMENT IN FLORIDA, 1562-1565, AND THE VIRGINIA COLONY, 1585-1590. Edited and annotated by *Stefan Lorant*. (New York: Duell, Sloan and Pearce. 1946. Pp. 292. \$20.00.)

THIS volume, which might with scholarly editing and conscientious publishing have become one of the most dramatic books in American history, represents the unhappy muffing of a unique opportunity. For this failure both the editor and the publishers must share the responsibility. The stated object of the editor was that of recreating, by means of contemporary narratives and pictures, the story of the abortive efforts of Ribaut, Laudonnière, Le Challeux, Amadas and Barlowe, and John White to establish French and English settlements on the North American mainland. It is clear, however, as the subtitle and other statements indicate, that the reproduction of the John White drawings was regarded as the principal feature of the work, as well it might have been. On these drawings the publishers have lavished forty pages of three-color, sheet-fed gravure plates. On them the popular reviews have bestowed highest praise. On them, in part at least, rested the publishers' award granted for the most creative specimen of publishing in 1946. For three and a half centuries the more important of John White's significant drawings have been known to the world through the engravings of Theodore DeBry, who first published them in 1590. The opportunity to make the originals available in their true color and line and to place belated laurels upon John White for making the first English drawings in the territory that is now the United States was an opportunity worthy of the highest scholarship and of the

best publishing efforts. The present attempt to seize this opportunity leaves John White's skill as an artist little better understood, so far as fidelity to his original drawings is concerned, than when DeBry made his copperplates.

In a prefatory note Mr. Lorant makes the following statement:

During his stay in Virginia, John White made some exquisite water-colors of the life, flora, and fauna of the country. They are the earliest authentic pictures of aboriginal life in North America. Curiously, they have never before been published in their entirety and in their original colors. They are so reproduced for the first time in this volume, together with all the known eyewitness accounts of the first English settlements in Virginia.

Only the first sentence of this passage may be allowed to go unchallenged. The White drawings, though historically of the first importance, are not by any means "the earliest authentic pictures of aboriginal life in North America," as evidence produced in this volume itself abundantly testifies. Nor are they here reproduced in their entirety. Some of the White paintings apparently did not survive, but there are seventy-five now preserved in the British Museum. Sixty-three are reproduced in this volume, together with one additional drawing that has been attributed to White. Of the drawings not reproduced, five represent idealized early Britons (DeBry included four of them), five show figures from the Caucasus and Astrakhan district, and two depict Eskimo.

But by far the most serious of the ill-founded claims reiterated by the editor and the publishers is that which asserts that the White drawings are here presented for the first time "in their original colors." This means, presumably, that the editor and publishers have made an effort to achieve high fidelity to the originals in reproducing their colors. If so, why did they not resort to the authentic drawings in the British Museum instead of reproducing the "photographic, hand-colored" copies in the William L. Clements Library? These hand-colored copies may have been executed with some competence, but their colors belong to the twentieth century, not to the sixteenth. White's drawings, marked by an artistic skill in line and color which can be appreciated through a single magnificent reproduction issued by the British Museum in 1936, have in the present volume been doubly filtered and muddled through copies of copies and with color imposition characterized by such poor registry that one may fully discount the claim advanced by the editor in the passage quoted. A few of these drawings were reproduced in the *Publications of the Walpole Society* in 1925. Even though Mr. Lorant, in referring to this and other reproductions pointedly and in some disparagement calls attention to the fact that they were black-and-white facsimiles, it is nevertheless true that the plates issued by the Walpole Society reveal details about the drawings that are obscured or made indiscernible in the present volume.

Since Mr. Lorant did not scruple to use copies of White's drawings for his book, one wonders why he dismissed in a single footnote the 130 (not 112 as he

states) copies in the Sloane collection made at least as early as the seventeenth century. These were long thought to be the White originals until Lord Charlemont's collection turned up in 1865. They have since been conclusively proved to have been copies, but the late Laurence Binyon (*Catalogue of Drawings by British Artists*, IV, 334) showed that the copyist of White was "working from a variant of the original design, or had such drawings beside him" as well as the Charlemont originals. These variations need to be collated with the originals and with DeBry before scholars can be satisfied. This is only one instance of a lack of critical appraisal of the materials. Mr. Lorant copied or paraphrased Binyon's measurements, descriptions, and zoological nomenclature, to which Mr. Lorant adds some errors of his own. The offset marks on the large drawings, caused by a fire at Sotheby's, are scarcely discernible in this volume, though quite apparent in Binyon's Walpole Society facsimiles; even so they should have received comment. Some of the reproductions have been cropped (e.g., "The Manner of their Fishing"), though the Binyon measurements are retained. The statement that "The *Virginia Historical Magazine* printed the twenty-three White drawings from which DeBry made his engravings" (p. 184) achieves in brief compass three explicit or implicit errors: *The Virginia Magazine of History and Biography* is the correct title; it reproduced only eighteen of the White drawings; and neither that journal nor any other could have reproduced the drawings for all twenty-three of the DeBry engravings since two of them are not extant.

In spite of all this, the black-and-white gravure reproductions of the DeBry engravings merit a special word because they provide the one exception in this bleak desert of disparaging comment: they are superbly done. It was a praiseworthy idea to include the DeBry engravings and the White drawings in a single volume so that comparisons could be made. If the latter had been as admirably executed as the former, and if both had been supported by scholarly editing, this volume would indeed have merited the award given the publishers for a creative achievement.

In view of the efforts that have been made in England and America to issue the White drawings properly, it becomes necessary to inquire more closely into the use of copies instead of originals in Mr. Lorant's volume. Mr. Lorant points out that the British Museum in 1936 issued a prospectus soliciting subscriptions for a complete edition of the White drawings in full color, to be sold at fifteen guineas. This project, according to Mr. Lorant, had to be abandoned because not enough subscribers "were willing to pay the high price . . . for a slim volume." He further states: "In 1942 Archibald McLeish [*sic*], then Librarian of Congress, asked Randolph G. Adams to negotiate with the British Museum and make arrangements for publication. But before the negotiations were completed, McLeish left the Library to become Under-Secretary [*sic*] of State, and nothing came of the plan. There the matter rested." At this point in the story, the transition is abrupt: "A year or so ago the editor of this volume spoke about the drawings to the late

Samuel Sloan and to Charles Duell, the heads of the enterprising publishing house. . . . Enthusiastic about the idea they were ready to publish them."

The publishers were ready, but were they authorized? Specifically were they authorized by the British Museum? Mr. Lorant, as shown by his own account, is authority for the statement that the negotiations begun under the then Librarian of Congress had not been completed. He makes no reference to any negotiations with the British Museum in his own behalf or in that of his publishers. He acknowledges his indebtedness to the William L. Clements Library for permission to reproduce the "photographic, hand-colored" copies of the White drawings. He does not make a similar acknowledgment to the British Museum. In view of these facts, the only plausible inference to be drawn is that the authorities of the British Museum were not asked to grant such permission and did not, in fact, do so.

If this inference is correct, it seems to me that a vigorous protest should be made against the editorial and publishing practice involved here.<sup>1</sup> This practice should be deplored and censured for two good reasons, one of them involving a matter of principle. First, it affronts the amenities that should be observed among editors, publishers, and institutions, if indeed it does not violate institutional prerogatives and rights. Second, because of the unscholarly editing and because of the inferior quality of the reproductions, the publication of this volume will make more difficult if not impossible the task of bringing out an acceptable edition, a task which the British Museum set itself a decade ago and which, so far as one of its subscribers is aware, it has not officially abandoned. The proper publication of the White drawings is something that needs to be done now more than ever, in view of the misrepresentations and errors of the present performance.

In his secondary objective, that of presenting the original narratives of White, Hariot, and others, Mr. Lorant has been guilty of even greater distortions to the originals than in the case of the White drawings. Apparently on the assumption that modern readers would find it impossibly difficult to cope with Elizabethan English, the editor has rewritten what, in one instance at least, he described as "vivid, crisp, and concise" narration. This accolade he bestows upon Hariot. The following example will show to what effect the praiseworthy style of one of the noted scholars of the sixteenth century has been altered: *Hariot* (1590 edition): "To the Adventurers, Favorers, and Wel Willers of the Enterprise for the Inhabitting and Planting in Virginia . . ." *Lorant*: "Hariot's Report to the Investors, Well-wishers, and Friends of the Settling and Planting of Virginia." As all students of Elizabethan colonial and commercial enterprise should know, adventurer is not precisely synonymous with investor. If mere financial activity were to be

<sup>1</sup> [In the *William and Mary Quarterly*, July, 1947, Mr. Samuel E. Morison supplements his review in the January issue by a detailed report of a comparison of the originals in the British Museum with the Lorant prints. Mr. A. E. Popham, the Keeper of the Prints, supervised and endorsed the report, which amply documents all adverse comment on the so-called reproductions. Mr. Popham characterizes as "extreme discourtesy" the failure of Mr. Lorant or his publishers to make any reference or acknowledgment to the Trustees of the British Museum. EDITOR.]

indicated, *speculator* would be the better word. In the foreword to the 1590 edition of Hariot, translated by Hakluyt, DeBry explained that he had published White before Le Moyne,

albeyt I have in hand the Historye of Florida wich should bee first sett foorth because yt was discovered by the Frenchman longe befor the discoverye of Virginia, yet I hope shortlye also to publish the same, A Victorye, doubtless so rare, as I thinke the like hath not been heard nor scene. I creaved both of them [the White and Le Moyne paintings] at London, and brought them hither to Frankfurt, wher I and my sonnes haven taken earnest paynes in gravinge the pictures there of in Copper, seeing yt is a matter of noe small importance.

Mr. Lorant, who incidentally gives to this narrative the title of the 1588 edition of Hariot, to which DeBry did *not* write a foreword, makes this passage read as follows:

If I were to regard the order of events, the history of Florida (which I already have in hand) should have first been published, since the French discovered and conquered that land in a notable victory long before the discovery of Virginia. However, I hope shortly to publish this work also. I obtained both of them in London and brought them here to Frankfurt, where I and my sons have taken the most earnest pains in engraving them carefully on copper, since the subject is one of great importance.

The "Victorye" that DeBry referred to was the victory that he as an enterprising and creative publisher of the sixteenth century achieved when he brought back to Frankfurt authentic paintings made by actual explorers, not the supposed success of the French in Florida, which could scarcely be called a victory, much less a conquest. Nor is *obtained* an adequate synonym for such a fine old Anglo-Saxon word as *creaved* (earlier in the DeBry foreword Mr. Lorant substitutes *copied* for *creaved*, an even worse mistake). *To creave* is to *implore* or to *beg a gift or favor*. When DeBry "creaved out of the very original of Maister John White," he not only sought a great favor, but he also paid a worthy tribute to the charm and authenticity of the drawings. More, by referring twice to his solicitation of the originals and by his justifiable exultation over his "Victorye" in obtaining them, he gave his readers assurance of his painstaking effort at accuracy. DeBry's example is one that Mr. Lorant would have been well advised to emulate.

Princeton University

JULIAN P. BOYD

WINTHROP PAPERS, Volume V, 1645-1649. Edited by *Allyn B. Forbes*. (Boston: Massachusetts Historical Society. 1947. Pp. xxxviii, 408.)

THIS volume of the *Winthrop Papers* covering the years 1645-1649 completes the printing of the material centering on the life and times of John Winthrop, sr., who died on March 26, 1649. As long as he lived he was the dominating influence in New England as well as in Massachusetts, and it is apparent from



these papers that he was interested in building up a spirit of unity and co-operation throughout New England as a whole, at the same time steering his enterprise gradually away from too close contact with England. He neither wanted New England to be drawn under the authority of the mother country through a governor general sent by Parliament if the Puritans won out in the civil war nor did he want it to be made a dump for dissentients if they did not. He had a definite plan for his commonwealth which might be jeopardized in either case. In order to draw the various New England colonies more closely together and to live in peace with the Dutch and the Indians, he hoped to build up a strong New England confederation and to leave problems of common concern in the hands of the commissioners. When Peter Stuyvesant wrote him suggesting a meeting of representatives of the two nations in order that questions and differences concerning titles and injuries might "be neighbourlie Composed," he answered that he had passed the letter on to the commissioners of the United Colonies as he was in duty bound to do, "the buisnes properlie concerning them." At the very end of his life he sent a message to John, jr., as "his last request, that you wold striue no more about the pequod Indians but leaue theme to the commissioners order."

Increasingly he was disturbed by news of the progress of civil war in England and wars and rumors of wars in Europe in general. His nephew Sir George Downing wrote him in 1648 from England that "no mortall eye could in the face of things see any thing but ruine," due chiefly to the "great divisions" among the Puritans. People asked themselves "what have I fought for all this while," to which some found one answer, some another, and these differing answers confused the issue as to the future objective if the war were won. A friend wrote him in 1648 that the "levellers" were "proiecting to bringe allmost a parity upon all persons in the Kingdome, none to excede 400*olls* per annum: noe freman to be without *rolls* yearly rents," and their plans were supported by all those who had little or nothing to lose. "Bookes entitled Appeales to the people are put forth by Lilburne and others, informing them that now as well the Parliament, (as formerly the Kinge,) haue lost all their authority by male administration . . . perswading the people, that all power and soveraignty is devolud and come backe to its first subiect, viz: themselues, and instructing them for a new mint and modell of Government."

Winthrop was determined that his colony should not suffer the same way, and he tended more and more in his later years toward the autocracy in religious and political matters for which he was criticized even by friends. Particularly was this true in regard to his stand against liberty of conscience which, as one of them wrote, "makes us stinke every wheare," and many believed that it would actually interfere with the material development of the colony. But Winthrop remained steadfast on this point, even though he had to make a conspicuous example of a friend of his son, Dr. Child, a "very very usefull" man, a prospective investor in the lead mines project of John, jr. For liberty of conscience, like too much democ-

racy, could destroy the new Canaan which Winthrop believed God had directed him to establish in New England.

As with the earlier volumes, relatively few of the papers included are printed for the first time and therefore little is added to the general knowledge of the period, but the availability of the complete Winthrop collection offers better opportunity for a study of motives and ideas behind what happened. The series also makes an important contribution in offering a more widespread use of this important colonial material than was possible by its appearance in collections and proceedings of historical societies.

*Mount Holyoke College*

VIOLA F. BARNES

THE SHAPING OF THE AMERICAN TRADITION. Text by *Louis M. Hacker*. Documents edited by *Louis M. Hacker* and *Helène S. Zahler*. (New York: Columbia University Press. 1947. Pp. xxiv, 1247. Textbook edition \$6.00.)

THE title of this book is arresting. It is not "Shaping *an* American Tradition," but "*The* Shaping of *the* American Tradition." This would seem to call, not for the huge volume which this is, but for a shelf of books. Of the total of 1,250 pages, approximately 225 are given to general introduction and introductory comments at the beginning of each of the eleven parts into which the volume is divided; about 150 pages are given to what may be termed narrative and explanatory text prefatory to the sources; and the remainder, or about 875 pages, to what Mr. Hacker calls "documents," which include a variety of material.

It is thus a source book. But, as frankly indicated in the general introduction, as appears in division of materials, and as is amply clear in selection and characterization of sources, the editor and author is presenting his view of the "American Tradition." It is a decided view. This is Mr. Hacker's book, despite the fact that his words, in all forms of comment, fill only about one fourth of the volume. The general introduction is an eloquent summary of what America means to him.

In Part One, the introductory note and the sources for the subdivision on "American Values" are all-important in revealing Mr. Hacker's point of view. Beginning with Part Two, "The First American Revolution," including all parts that follow, except Part Six, and concluding with Part Eleven, "The Third American Revolution," the division of text, comment, and documents appears in one pattern, namely: "The American Mind," "The American Scene," "American Problems," and "The United States and the World." The introductory notes comprise a fragmentary narrative history. These are followed by the author's selections for "The American Mind" and accounts of "The American Scene." Yet the bulk of the material is on "American Problems," and this might also include the material on "The United States and the World." It is thus essentially a source book for consideration of American problems. In fact, according to the author, this book "has grown out of the requirements of the Contemporary Civilization

course at Columbia College, and more particularly its work in the second year." This purpose naturally leads to inclusion of materials rarely given much space by historians, and the exclusion of a great number of documents usually deemed essential in presenting, historically, the American tradition. Although the sources are the work of at least 138 individuals, most of whom are Americans, the utterances of Lincoln are confined to his reply to Horace Greeley on saving the Union, and the Preliminary Emancipation Proclamation. There are no words of George Washington. The Declaration of Independence does not appear, nor does the Constitution of the United States.

Textbooks are powerful forces in formulating the public mind; books of readings, when used as required, even when used as supplementary, are of even greater weight in determining influence in that they draw deeply from sources of our national life in emotion as well as in thought. In testing a textbook and source book such as this—and bearing in mind its arresting title—it is necessary to consider not only accuracy, time-and-space balance, and the pedagogical usefulness of the book but also the expressed intent of the author and his evident purpose in selection and arrangement of materials. The alignment in the battle for political, economic, and social control in America during the next generation is being prepared now in the schools and colleges of this country. Ideas, patterns of thought, convictions, prejudices, and programs are constantly being formulated in the minds of students as they study "history," particularly as it is presented in the "problem" approach.

We may assume that Mr. Hacker is well aware of this, and he has prepared a book to present his view. He is frank about it, except that it is not always clear—at least to this reviewer—why he makes the selections he does. He does not really tell us, because frequently his introductory notes on authors do not place them in their historical setting. Many of them are included for what they have said in anticipation of the future and not for their influence on the men and women of their times! One is certainly safe in concluding that history is here being "used" to present problems. The heavy emphasis upon revolt, upon minority rights, and upon the points of view of the rebel would seem to bear out this view. Economic activity is the author's primary concern.

There are no photographs in this book; nor are there maps. Yet we know the continent rather than the council chamber was in the center of American imagination. One coming to this book with little knowledge of America would not guess the size of the continent, nor the variety of life (and tradition) in the various sections of the nation. Neither would he suspect the developments in science and technology which have made the world we now occupy.

There are no sources on music, drama, poetry. Yet, if we forsake our preoccupation with "problems" for a moment, it may appear that in the shaping of *the* American tradition, music, drama, and poetry had considerable influence, and explain much of historical emphasis and of present attitude. The "intellectual"

contribution in economic and political theory, or even philosophy, has limits in usefulness. The intention of the book to "show how American ideas and institutions have been developed" has been met only in part. Notable is the almost complete absence of the contribution of the clergy, with the exception of Jonathan Mayhew, Roger Williams and Jonathan Edwards, and, later, of Elihu Palmer and Timothy Dwight. We are told in "The American Scene at the Century's Turn (1800)," that "Intellectuals had become Deists and had nothing to do with organized religion, or attended churches only occasionally."

Mr. Hacker states that he has "tried to make the documents representative—not only of the strains in the American tradition that are still alive but of the best thinking in and about America." He has included nine philosophers: Williams, Edwards, Franklin, Palmer, Emerson, Thoreau, Whitman, James, and Dewey. In economic thought there are selections from Franklin, Hamilton, Carey, George, Wells, Godkin, Sumner, Wright, Veblen, Mitchell, and Hansen. Political thought is represented by Mayhew, Jefferson, Madison, Hamilton, Lee, Bancroft, Webster, Calhoun, Hildreth, Wilson, and Franklin D. Roosevelt. Mr. Hacker's list of foreign commentators is less unusual. We are given here unusual political manifestoes and such calls for action as penned by Ignatius Donnelly, Eugene Debs, and Wendell Willkie. These are valuable.

Mr. Hacker's decided views will find wide dissent, for example, on the Deists (p. 251); on the necessity for the Civil War (pp. 465-66); on the character of Cleveland (p. 683).

The weight of the book (almost six pounds) makes it cumbersome to handle. The table of contents divided, as is the subject matter of the book, into eleven parts, does not clearly differentiate introductory comment from text of document or from narrative summaries; hence it is difficult to use. There is no general index.

Within the limits described, this is a monumental presentation. In the collection of unusual materials, and in the distribution of attention to the successive periods in our history, it is an outstanding example of pedagogical skill and scholarly interest. For courses in contemporary civilization it should prove invaluable. It is not to be thought of as competing with such contributions as Warfel, Gabriel, and Williams, *The American Mind*, nor with such a compilation as H. S. Commager's *Documents of American History*, nor with *The Heritage of America* edited by Commager and Nevins.

Stanford University

EDGAR EUGENE ROBINSON

#### CRITICS AND CRUSADERS: A CENTURY OF AMERICAN PROTEST.

By *Charles A. Madison*. (New York: Henry Holt and Company. 1946. Pp. xii. 572. \$3.50.)

ESCHEWING "the rigor and formality of impersonalized history" in this study of American social progress during the past hundred years, Mr. Madison presents

eighteen of the prime movers. Since reform concerns itself so immediately with humanity, this approach through people is fitting—though it leaves still to be written that analysis which will concern itself primarily with ideas and movements.

Mr. Madison selects three reformers to exemplify each of the six types he defines and discusses in his background chapters. Garrison, John Brown, and Wendell Phillips stand for the Abolitionists. For the Utopians, his second type, the author chooses Margaret Fuller, Albert Brisbane (interpreter of Fourier's scheme of association), and Edward Bellamy. The third grouping—with Thoreau, Benjamin R. Tucker, and Emma Goldman as the examples—presents the anarchist vision of man totally free. Mr. Madison characterizes his Dissident Economists—Henry George, Brooks Adams, and Thorstein Veblen—as those economists who challenge an orthodox acceptance of the capitalist gospel of wealth. Fifth are the Militant Liberals—Altgeld, Steffens, and Randolph Bourne. Last come the Socialists: Daniel De Leon, Debs, and John Reed.

Without the support of Mr. Madison's text, these classifications might prove confusing, and readers may well think of other groupings. Rather, the strength of the book lies in its separate units. The parts are notable for perceptive biographical sketches and for clear, concise digests—first-rate expositions such as the one summarizing Marx's doctrine of surplus value. Several of the individual portraits are so good it is hard to pick the best. Save for a love of liberty, the author carries no banners for the doctrines of any reformer; his effort is for clear exposition. He resists the temptation, probably great at times, to let his liberalism talk out of turn. Instead, his book is an attempt to inform the reader, and let him take sides if he wishes to, from the record.

For the most part the author has used familiar sources, but his handling is fresh and disposes of several accepted suppositions.

As Mr. Madison points out, these critics and crusaders, for all their differences, have one point in common—an idealism which impelled them to oppose existing wrongs. It is interesting to note other parallels. With a number, though of course not all, there is a contributing Puritan or Quaker background. With many, emotion was more than normally influential in starting them on their careers. Both Margaret Fuller and Emma Goldman—the only two women chosen for portraits—were more or less denied normal release for their feminine instincts. Such incidental parallels help draw attention to one characteristic of the book inevitable in its plan—a certain repetitiousness. One cannot discuss Thoreau and John Brown, for instance, without going over much the same ground. Yet, along with the ably done portraits and the many heartening examples of self-sacrificing courage, the feeling this book gives of the immediacy and urgency of the long fight to preserve human freedom furnishes ample justification for Mr. Madison's method.

*Swarthmore College*

TOWNSEND SCUDDER

AMERICAN SEA POWER SINCE 1775. Edited by *Allan Westcott*, Senior Professor, United States Naval Academy. (Philadelphia: J. B. Lippincott Company. 1947. Pp. viii, 609. \$5.00.)

THIS new history of the Navy has been produced by a collaboration of writers: J. R. Fredland, W. W. Jeffries, N. T. Kirk, T. F. McManus, E. B. Potter, R. S. West, jr., and A. Westcott. It is somewhat similar to the excellent *U. S. Navy: A History* by Professors Alden and Westcott, with the addition of further World War II material: 210 of its 580 pages are devoted to the activities of the fleet after Pearl Harbor and through the Japanese surrender. It is therefore timely and useful, and at present the best one-volume account for the general reader and for classes in naval history.

The scope of the work is stated in the preface: "The present volume is primarily an operational history of the Navy, covering its work in peace and war, from the beginnings to the present, in protection and promotion of our national interests." Battles naturally get first place and the peace periods are summarily, but adequately, treated. For the Revolutionary War one would like to see the naval genius of George Washington, to which Admiral Mahan called attention and which Captain Knox has explored more fully, receive its due. The Mexican War, as usual, is slighted; it rates a page.

The *Monitor-Virginia* battle gets seventeen pages, as against twenty-two for the entire Revolutionary War. But it was a great battle and should never be forgotten. Critiques of the early campaigns (*e.g.*, Port Royal) of the Civil War are lacking, but the New Orleans, Vicksburg, and Mobile campaigns are excellently done and clearly illustrated. The North's anaconda squeeze blockade is mentioned, but it is not clearly shown how this was implemented, with the holding or capture of coastal points and by setting up the various squadrons.

In an operational history it might seem surprising to find three chapters dealing with geopolitical matters, but they are interesting and valuable. The titles are: "Geography and War Strategy," "Geography and Logistics," and "Sea Power, Life Lines, and Bases." This section is by no means a rehash of pseudoprophetic utterances about the Heartland; it gives a fine perspective on sea power and its importance to the United States.

The story of the Navy's operations in the recent war seems to the layman as complete and well documented as it could be, as of mid-1947, and it is presented with the aid of many maps, battle diagrams, and tables. The pictures and diagrams in the first two thirds of the book are taken from the Alden and Westcott history, with the addition of some first-class Civil War operational maps by Commander Potter.

*American Sea Power since 1775* is a readable and well-integrated book. It is sufficiently critical of American mistakes when such criticism is necessary. Every

reader may wish that some of his pet periods had received slightly different or more extensive treatment, but on the whole he will call this a good job.

*The Rice Institute*

HARDIN CRAIG, JR.

THURLOW WEED: WIZARD OF THE LOBBY. By *Glyndon G. Van Deusen*. (Boston: Little, Brown and Company. 1947. Pp. xiv, 403. \$4.00.)

THURLOW Weed is one of the last of America's nineteenth century giants to be granted full-stature biographical commemoration. This fact stems intimately from Weed's lifetime of keeping himself in the background. He steadfastly refused public office, except for two terms in the New York assembly when he was a young man, long before he became a "dictator" or a "wizard of the lobby." He preferred the role of Warwick, the part of the manipulator of the puppets on the political stage. Power he craved, and power he had; but it was the power of the man who pulls the strings from behind a velvet curtain.

The result is that less has been known of him than of most figures of his political magnitude. Even in his own "autobiography"—largely a collection of sentimental, and too often inaccurate, anecdotes—he revealed less of himself than of his times, less of the motives and realities behind his machinations than of the human furbelows surrounding them. Even after his death his papers and letters lay in vaulted secrecy for nearly sixty years. Consequently, though the other two members of the "triumvirate," Greeley and Seward, and most of the rest of the potent politicians of his time have been the subject of countless volumes, Thurlow Weed has remained until now exactly what he chose to be in his lifetime—a shadow, a legend.

This is the more remarkable since he must be counted among the nineteenth century leaders in two fields: journalism as well as politics. Just as every treatment of his period's political history offers brief references to his activities, so does every discussion of contemporaneous newspaper history. Yet few have been more than references. None is definitive or, in the broad sense, revealing; many are, in fact, mere mouthings of stereotyped half-truths.

Professor Van Deusen's biographical study, then, is one for which historians must have looked eagerly. They will greet it, I am sure, with a good deal of satisfaction. It is a painstaking, thorough, dependable research work; its 347 pages are drawn almost entirely from original sources. The Weed letters and papers have so far been open to no scholar but its author.

I believe that, in its presentation of the facts of Weed's career and of the extent, methods, and use of his political power, it meets any reasonable demand. It describes every significant event in the man's life from his birth in a log cabin high above the middle Hudson to his death in a millionaire's mansion on the island at the river's mouth. It portrays the growth of his political opportunism from early days in western New York through his part in the nomination of John



Quincy Adams, his fight against the Albany regency, his "invention" of Harrison and Taylor (and his bitter disappointment at their deaths), his sponsorship of Seward, his defeat by adherents of the backwoodsman from Illinois at Chicago in 1860, and the decay of his grip on New York Republicanism after the war. It leaves no doubt as to his principle that, in politics, the end justified the means; yet it presents this principle no more cynically than Weed himself viewed it—which is to say with a kind of bland assumption that desirable goals may properly be defined by those with the whip hand, and achieved with moral impunity by whatever methods work.

The book is at its most revealing, since this part of its story has not before been told, in describing how the poor boy and the penniless editor became the man who distributed a million dollars among his heirs. Here again become evident the opportunism and the pragmatic, "do-as-the-Romans-do" philosophy of the man Weed.

Professor Van Deusen does not, I think, portray Weed's human relationships, or his individual political relationships, as graphically as might be desired. One does not get, for instance, the full view of his friendship as a young man with Frederick Whittlesey; of the personal as distinct from the political impact of Seward on Weed; of the genuine pain Weed felt at Greeley's dissolution of the "partnership." Nor does the reader see fully—at least in one piece—the fascinating tale of Weed's effect on the political ambitions of Henry Clay; nor the picture of the Lincoln-Weed relationship; nor that of the Weed headquarters at the Astor in New York (perhaps the origin of the "smoke-filled room" school of political manipulation). This is unquestionably due in part to the physical limitations of a one-volume biography—so vast a mass of material as Van Deusen combed must inevitably yield much that must be, regretfully and regrettably, left out.

However this may be, a good many modern biographers would have given more thought to the development of a tapestry of the basic impulses that patterned Thurlow Weed. The psychological rather than the strictly historical biographer would suggest, I think, that Weed's paternalism and his subconscious snobbery perhaps had a source in the experiences of the underprivileged boy whose father was more than once in debtors' prison. He might have dwelt on the self-satisfaction Weed found in association with Bishop Hughes, Moses Grinnell, and others in the "right" circles. This kind of analysis is fraught with error; certainly not all of Weed's career can be explained by the psychoanalytic school of psychology. But I believe the approach furnishes an important clue to some of the man's make-up, and I wish the book gave it weight.

And—as a journalist—I think the lack of evaluation of Thurlow Weed as an editor is unfortunate. It is true that Weed contributed nothing original or even virtuosic to American journalism. But he was one of America's most powerful editors in his long heyday; he was vigorous, widely "copied" and as deeply re-

spected in some circles as he was scorned in others. For the greater part of thirty years the Albany *Evening Journal* wielded heavy influence on the papers of his state, and on its thought.

It is significant, too, that Weed's decreasing satisfaction in the editorship of the *Journal* in the later years was in part due to his failure to grow journalistically with the American press. Certainly a factor in the miscarriage of his attempt to make the New York *Commercial Advertiser* a powerful political weapon was his lack of recognition that the editorial methods of the 1830's did not meet the exigencies of the late 1860's. Since Weed almost always chose to think—or at least to speak—of himself as a newspaperman, his complete portrait would have to take into account his journalistic strengths and weaknesses.

University of Minnesota

MITCHELL V. CHARNLEY

THE LINCOLN READER. Edited, with an Introduction, by *Paul M. Angle*. (New Brunswick: Rutgers University Press. 1947. Pp. xii, 564. \$3.75.)

ABRAHAM LINCOLN AND THE WIDOW BIXBY. By *F. Lauriston Bullard*. (New Brunswick: Rutgers University Press. 1946. Pp. xiii, 154. \$3.00.)

Two important contributions to Lincoln literature come from Dr. Angle and Dr. Bullard through the medium of Rutgers University Press. *The Lincoln Reader* is a republication of 179 selections from the writings of 65 authors, cemented into a unified biography by running comment of the editor. Contributors range from Lincoln himself to that unknown, and perhaps fictitious, person to whom has been accredited *The Diary of a Public Man*. The better-known biographers are all represented: Arnold, Barton, Beveridge, Charnwood, Herndon, Lamon, Nicolay and Hay, Randall, Sandburg, Tarbell. Diaries of Hay and of three cabinet members—Bates, Chase, and Welles—offer contemporaneous testimony. Selections from individuals with special opportunity to observe some particular occurrence or phase include Busey, Brooks, Carr, Chittenden, Keckley, Koerner, Schurz, and Whitney. Impressive contributions to the early Illinois years are by former executive secretaries of the Abraham Lincoln Association of Springfield, Illinois: Thomas, Pratt, and Angle himself.

The abundance of material rendered the process of selection exceedingly difficult, but the challenge was converted into an asset by Dr. Angle, who has spent much of his own life reliving that of his subject. In fact, one conjectures that the same editor might successfully compile another *Reader* of equal quality without duplicating an item. This would be particularly true of the war years, which have just begun to receive adequate attention from biographers. After all, it is the achievements, successful beyond all reasonable expectation, of Lincoln the President which inspire the fascinating experience of examining his background and earlier career.

For the Lincoln student this modestly sized book provides a unique opportunity to review much that is well known and to discover not a little which is far from well known. For the nonstudent reader Dr. Angle has given a constructive answer to the perennial inquiry as to the best single volume about Lincoln.

In *Abraham Lincoln and the Widow Bixby* Dr. Bullard has offered what should prove to be the final word about that wonderful, but elusive, letter of condolence, unless, contrary to every reasonable hope, the original should be found. Treating a subject unmentioned in the *Reader*, the author assembles the facts, states the issues, analyzes the evidence, demolishes the opposition, and reaches unimpeachable conclusions. Relying upon the written authority of John Hay, to whom hearsay had posthumously attributed the authorship of this remarkable bit of English composition, he finds the letter was "genuine," that is, was the expression of President Lincoln's own thoughts, and was, at least, signed by him. Only discovery of the original could establish it as a holographic letter of the President.

We are indebted to Dr. Bullard for a scholarly piece of historical detective work, for undertaking a task, both of investigation and of writing, which he was one of the few best qualified to undertake, and for producing a monograph which should stimulate thoughtful reading equally by the layman and by those making special study of the life of this timeless American.

*Boston, Massachusetts*

RAYMOND S. WILKINS

YANKEE TEACHER: THE LIFE OF WILLIAM TORREY HARRIS. By Kurt F. Leidecker. (New York: Philosophical Library. 1946. Pp. xx, 648. \$7.50.)

OF the three great figures who dominate American education in the nineteenth century only William Torrey Harris can properly be called a philosopher. Horace Mann and Henry Barnard, while they were absorbed in practical labors, were hardly contributors to educational theory, although the kind of educational outlook to which Americans could subscribe was clarified and crystallized by their work.

With Harris, however, under the influence of Brockmeyer, Hegel was brought to these shores and domesticated; and the first fruit of this importation was Hegel's *Logic*. When, with the appearance of Spencer's *First Principles* in 1862, the second foundation stone of Harris' thinking had been laid, he turned to the *Journal of Speculative Philosophy*, which he founded and edited. Whoever is familiar with Hegel and Spencer, therefore, will at once recognize the sources of Harris' thinking.

All this is a necessary preliminary to one who is to thread his way through almost five hundred separate titles which cover the Harris bibliography. This laborious task has been undertaken by Kurt Leidecker in *Yankee Teacher: The Life of William Torrey Harris*. Among the more important titles in the bibliography are the thirteen annual reports of the public schools of St. Louis, the

reports of the chairman of the Committee of Fifteen on the correlation of studies, and the report of the chairman of the subcommittee of the Committee of Twelve, which considered the problems of instruction and discipline in the rural school. To these contributions must be added the annual reports of the United States commissioner of education from 1889 to 1906, which won the admiration of European educators and through which the Bureau of Education was established on the basis of sound scholarship.

This much must be said, even within the limit of a brief review, because one strong claim which Mr. Leidecker's work will have on the attention of the educational historian is its judicious use of the literature flowing from Harris' pen, particularly that issuing in the official reports enumerated above. From the broader perspective of the social historian, however, one might desire a more detailed reference to the part Harris played in the political struggles of nineteenth century America. I believe Professor Curti, who has given a chapter to Harris' social views in his *Social Ideas of American Educators*, might well ask whether Hegelian idealism and Spencerian individualism do not add up to a rather definite political position, and whether, in consequence of this, the educational literature which may be examined in the Harris bibliography should not be studied with this possibility in mind.

University of California

RICHARD D. MOSIER

LAND OF THE DACOTAHs. By *Bruce Nelson*. (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 1946. Pp. 353. \$3.75.)

THIS volume by a young North Dakota newspaperman consists of a series of word pictures or episodes in the history of the Upper Missouri Valley from the days of the Indians and early French explorers to the present-day plan of harnessing the mighty Missouri River with dams for flood control, irrigation, and hydro-electric power.

This is not a history in the technical sense of the word. It does not cover the entire scope of events in the three states under discussion: South Dakota, North Dakota, and Montana; and yet it interprets and presents in a vivid way the significant peaks in the mountain range of regional history of the area.

Mr. Nelson has told again in a delightful way the story of the Indian way of life, the early explorers, the rivermen, the trappers, territorial days, crooked politics and governmental graft, Indian pacification, the rise and fall of the cattlemen's empire, the railroad builders, the Nonpartisan League, the great drouth and depression, and finally the story of the struggle against various interests to tame and put to a useful program the energies of the powerful but tricky Missouri River.

One of the most significant chapters is the story of James J. Hill's endeavor to build an empire along his Great Northern Railroad in spite of the warning

of John W. Powell that the area was not suited to the traditional methods of agriculture. The author very truthfully points out that Hill was an empire spoiler rather than a builder, as the dust bowl days of the thirties were destined to prove. Two chapters, "Giants in the Earth" and "The Revenge of Crow King," are in the form of fiction but they portray at least one phase of frontier life.

Historians will find some errors in this very excellent volume, such as the statement on page 207: "The Civil War temporarily halted the Northern drives [of cattle] . . ." and "The ranges of Missouri, Kansas, and Nebraska had become stocked in the decades of the 1840's and 50's . . ." Then, too, the author, a North Dakota newspaperman writing from the vantage point of his North Dakota newspaper office, has naturally seen and dwelt more particularly on North Dakota than on the other two states which he includes in his regional study.

Nevertheless the volume is one of real significance and should be found in the library of all students of the Upper Missouri and particularly of North Dakota. The style is invigorating and lively and the reader will hesitate to lay the book down once he has taken it up.

The University of Minnesota is to be congratulated on this volume which is the product of a Minnesota fellowship in regional writing. The format is pleasing, the illustrations are well chosen, and the index adequate.

*Union College*

EVERETT DICK

THE GREAT SALT LAKE. By *Dale L. Morgan*. (Indianapolis: Bobbs-Merrill Company. 1947. Pp. 432. \$3.75.)

DALE L. Morgan knows the people of the Great Basin area. To those who love the Great Basin desert he has given a book packed with history, romance, geology, social conflict, religion, and speculation.

"Cheyenne Dawson never forgot looking back once and seeing Nancy Kelsey following resolutely after him down a precipitous path, her child in her arms, barefooted and leading her horse. Heroic woman who would not be left behind, she was the first white woman to see the Great Salt Lake and first to cross the Sierras." That is history.

Those of us whose mothers walked across the plains and through the mountains, thrill with that story, especially when our mothers survived it all and remained beautiful, serene, and cultured throughout their lives. That is romance.

The government's zeal in preparing surveys for the use of onrushing settlers and the development of science delights the reader in noting the change in his government's attitude toward the desert and its lake. Within a short generation between the time when Webster declared the whole land useless as far as the eye could see or the crow fly and when Stansbury, Gunnison, Howell, King, and others did their work is a story of constructive nation-building. Then, when I realize that science has learned to make rain and snow, and engineers have taught

us how to bring water by diversion from one shed to another, it is terrifying to realize that if old Lake Bonneville should repeat its geologic history aided by man's connivance or design it could wipe out all that man has done for himself and cover it as completely as some of the ancient ruins are covered by the dams in the Nile Valley or the old Mormon towns by Mead Lake as a result of the building of the Boulder or Hoover Dam. It took geologic ages, a half million years anyway, for Lake Bonneville to come and go. But when we realize that any water that comes into the Basin seldom gets out, even by evaporation, one cannot help wondering what might be done in a period of atomic and snow-making warfare to the transportation systems of the United States if this crossroads of America should cease to exist. That is speculation.

Dale's fine writing increased my interest as I read on. Still, "darn it," he talked about Walker Brothers and did not mention my dad, who was their manager for years. He talked about the Jennings store and did not mention R. K. Thomas', which was started in the same building. He described the views, but did not mention the most thrilling sight in the world, even a greater thrill than being high in an airplane, which comes to one who climbs up what used to be old Mill B or the South Fork of Big Cottonwood Canyon until one comes to the place where you look over high mountains and watch the sun set in the lake in the distance, or when from the middle part of Salt Lake County you look west and note the smoke which comes from one of the great smelter stacks coming out right at the point of a mountain and you see a more splendid volcano made by man, putting on a greater show than Vesuvius ever does and greater than any of the volcanoes, viewed from the top of Fuji San, do even in their best showing-off days. Then, too, Dale ought to get his readers to go up to the head of Farmington Canyon and look right down on the lake. But this is not criticism nor a suggestion because Dale has written something very much greater than a guidebook.

For those who love America, this book is a "must." For those of us who were born in the Basin and who grew up under colloquialisms quite as characteristic if not as picturesque as those spoken in Brooklyn, I would say, "Now, my Brethren and Sisters, knowing whereof I speak, read of your past and the greatness of your fathers, thrill over the land they have made to 'blossom as a rose' and the wondrous nature thereof."

The bibliographical note at the end of the book will be appreciated by all serious students of the history of America's West.

*Washington, D. C.*

ELBERT D. THOMAS

AND THE MOUNTAINS WILL MOVE: THE STORY OF THE BUILDING OF THE PANAMA CANAL. By *Miles P. DuVal, Jr.*, Captain, United States Navy. (Stanford: Stanford University Press. 1947. Pp. xvi, 374. \$5.00.)

ANY author, setting out to write the history of the Panama Canal, faces dif-

difficulties. First, there is an embarrassing wealth of material available which imposes a heavy task of appraisal, sorting, selection, and condensing. Secondly, there is the wide range of human interest and activity which the history of the Canal encompasses: promotion, finance, propaganda, international relations, national politics, government enterprise, engineering, sanitation and public health, international trade, national transportation, personalities and morale, organization and administration, national defense, etc.

Whether the author has resolved these difficulties adequately is debatable. Captain DuVal has produced a well-documented and indexed volume which should serve as a valuable intermediary or secondary source of reference. It may save much recourse to original sources by future writers, but it is hardly compact or definitive writing, for in spite of the author's clear intent to the contrary *And the Mountains Will Move* is a little too general, a little too inclusive, perhaps even a little too popular in style for today. Thirty-three world-shaking years have passed since the opening of the Canal and the stupendous events of this period have dwarfed the once gigantic task of canal construction in the public mind. In broad terms Captain DuVal's book is thirty years too late.

Since the time for a "general" audience has passed, present writing should be pointed toward the technician whether he be historian, engineer, public health officer, or student of organization and administration. None of such technicians will be satisfied with Captain DuVal's work. The student might wish to find here the inside history of the "rape of Colombia" a vital prelude to construction. Or perhaps the full story of the "battle of the levels" with a President making a last minute decision contrary to public sentiment, the leanings of the Secretary of War and, seemingly, up to the very end, his own previous conviction. Much could be added on the menacing problem of the slides—ever-present, ever-threatening, even into 1915—and the final gamble on letting the water into the cut to combat, with its weight, the upward thrust of the earth. Disproportionate space seems to be devoted to the history of the Panama Railroad though, admittedly, like God, if it had not already existed it would have had to be invented. Less of the trials and tribulations of De Lesseps on promotion and more of President Taft's on tolls might be pertinent—or even of Walter Reed's vitally important preliminary experiments in Cuba. Many anecdotes and much of the description of ceremonials might well be omitted to make way for elaboration of such subjects as these mentioned.

The genesis of the Canal is pretty well known to students. It is time for a book, or books, of specific, detailed, and definitive revelations. It is earnestly to be hoped that Captain DuVal's third volume will be compact, incisive, perceptive. He should possess the background to accomplish this.

*Washington, D. C.*

DARRELL HEVENOR SMITH, SR.



WILSON: THE ROAD TO THE WHITE HOUSE. By Arthur S. Link. (Princeton: Princeton University Press. 1947. Pp. xiii, 570. \$5.00.)

WITH the publication of Arthur Link's *Wilson: The Road to the White House*, there is beginning, it may be, the second period in the field of Wilson literature. This volume, the first in a series intended to carry the story to the end of Wilson's life, shows so much promise that if Mr. Link's energy and determination continue, the completed biography may well serve to supplement Ray Stannard Baker's interpretation in the light of fresh evidence, and continue from the point at which Baker left off.

In this substantial first volume, the author has made telling use of over a hundred contemporary newspapers—a valuable contribution, since it has not been done before with anything like such thoroughness. He has used much new and valuable manuscript material in Princeton, at Duke University, in the Library of Congress, and elsewhere. And he has paid careful attention to the papers of Ray Stannard Baker, “an invaluable source, second in importance only to the Wilson manuscripts.” Since many of those with whom Mr. Baker corresponded and talked have since died, there now reside in this collection significant factual information and contemporary comment unavailable elsewhere. Mr. Link has used this primary source in thorough and scholarly fashion, disagreeing radically at a number of points, especially where further material has come to light, reinforcing at other points, and, where the evidence has not shifted, taking from the older man what he might properly use.

In this first volume, then, Wilson is carried through the years of his education, his first teaching experience at Bryn Mawr—which might well be called a continuation of his education—his service on the Wesleyan and Princeton faculties, and his stormy years as president of Princeton, up to and into the opening of his political career.

The book takes some time to get under way, the introductory chapter being just that, with little new contribution. Mr. Link tends to patronize his subject, rather, and, like many biographers before him, to point out early and late how much better Wilson might have done. Dangerous techniques at best, if overdone these can return to plague the user. The Princeton chapters, again, are not Link's best work, but for different reasons. It is too soon for the unbiased story which he sincerely wants to give; he is too near, in time and place, to those who feel strongly on both sides of the old controversy. But he does, in these chapters, make really effective use of his new material. Dean West comes out rather well, as do certain other earnest proponents of the anti-Wilson school. There is, perhaps, too much unction in attempting to set straight the record allegedly beclouded by earlier “Wilson apologists.” While this will do no harm, and may help to straighten the line, it is heady business even for a young man of Mr. Link's undoubted talents.

But from the moment when the author, on page 92, picks up the beginnings of Woodrow Wilson's career as national and international leader, the story gains

force and momentum, and a certain vivid, living quality which occasionally results from the hourly, daily contact of a writer with his subject for a period of years. The quality was outstanding in the Baker volumes; and while Arthur Link is not yet the writer that his predecessor was, he is on his way. Mr. Baker had one great advantage which Mr. Link will never have—he was there. He lived through the events of which he wrote. He felt them, he fought certain of the fights on the very field of battle, he knew the chief participants. But Arthur Link has one advantage which Mr. Baker never had, and never could have had. He was *not* there. In this main body, this very meat of his book, he approaches real objectivity.

Obviously the political period is where Mr. Link's interest lies. The Watterson-Harvey-Wilson episode is, by new evidence, shown to be what earlier biographers without complete documentation have felt it to be, "the culmination of the Wall Street reactionary phase of the attack." Wilson's development is traced from a conservatism which appears to have been his natural bent, toward the liberalism with which his name has come to be associated. The handling of the Progressive movement in the South and East makes substantial contribution to existing literature on that subject, and will help the general reader to understand how the Scotch Presbyterian professor from the South fitted and was made to fit into the social and economic pattern then developing. The Baltimore Convention is colorfully described—no writer can resist the retelling of that tale—but there is a significant shift of emphasis. No longer is Bryan presented as the figure toward whom all eyes turned. While his "considerable share" during the early struggles in the convention is given some weight, Mr. Link maintains that Bryan was "really on the periphery during the convention in so far as the Wilson managers were concerned."

The whole political story, indeed, is minutely told, with excellent handling of detail. But Wilson himself, that strange complex of inheritance and background and training and character and emotion, is curiously missing from many of the pages. It will be difficult for those coming fresh to the subject to understand why this Wilson became what he did become. However, the quality of the man is revealed more clearly toward the end of the book, and Wilson, the leader, will, it is to be hoped, come completely alive in the next volume.

Students of Woodrow Wilson and his period will do well to pay attention to this book, and to watch for its successor.

*Washington, D. C.*

KATHARINE E. BRAND

PAPERS RELATING TO THE FOREIGN RELATIONS OF THE UNITED STATES: THE PARIS PEACE CONFERENCE, 1919. Volumes V, VI, VIII, IX. [Department of State Publications 2212, 2253, 2531, 2599.] (Washington: Government Printing Office, 1946. Pp. vi, 949; v, 1021; iii, 986; iv, 1053. \$2.25 each.)

PUBLICATION of these four volumes fills in the gaps left by the earlier appear-

ance of Volumes I and II (dealing with the preliminary preparations for the conference); III and IV (the plenary sessions; the meetings of the representatives of powers with special interests; minutes of the governing bodies of the conference, such as the Council of Ten); VII (minutes of the Council of Ten); and XI (minutes of the American commissioners plenipotentiary, and of technical advisers)—volumes already reviewed in this journal, some of which, like the last-mentioned, “read strangely today,” to use the words of a recent reviewer (*cf. Am. Hist. Rev.*, April, 1946, p. 523).

Volumes V and VI of the present spate are the most important of the whole series. They contain the minutes—hitherto made public only in excerpts—of the highly secret deliberations of the Council of Four in its more than two hundred meetings, consisting of the four heads of government, President Wilson, Prime Minister Lloyd George, Premier Clemenceau, and Premier Orlando. These were the supreme authorities of the Peace Conference. Their discussions reflect the struggle of Woodrow Wilson to integrate the whole peace into one plan, a set of principles which would govern all the defeated enemies. They reveal Wilson’s efforts to be loyal to the “acid test” of the Allies’ and Associates’ conduct toward Russia: self-determination of her own political development and national policy (Point 6 of the Fourteen Points). “The proper policy of the Allies and Associated Powers,” said President Wilson to his associates, “is to clear out of Russia and leave the Russians to fight it out among themselves.”

The full record of the Council of Four should permit a fresh interpretation of Wilson’s policy, previously presented, from excerpts, in Ray Stannard Baker’s *Woodrow Wilson and World Settlement*, Lloyd George’s *Truth About the Peace Treaties*, and Birdsall’s *Versailles Twenty Years After*.

Volumes VIII and IX continue and conclude the voluminous Minutes of the Council of the Heads of Delegations, the first volume of which (VII) was discussed in the January, 1947, number of this *Review*. The Heads of Delegations was the title of the Supreme Council of the Conference during the absence of Woodrow Wilson in the United States. These meetings, held after the signature of the Treaty of Versailles on June 28, 1919, dealt mostly with the work of completing treaties with Austria, Hungary, Bulgaria, and Turkey. Is it not worthy of notice that Woodrow Wilson and the negotiators of 1919 insisted on tackling and finishing off the main problem, Germany, first, before turning to the subsidiary problems, Austria, Hungary, Bulgaria, and Turkey? Without the settlement of the German treaty no peace would have been possible. Might not the negotiators of 1946–1947 have profited from a study of this procedure? Would not the chances of peace in Europe be better today if they had followed the procedure of 1919 instead of reversing it? Of what validity is a peace with the little countries when the German question is left unsettled, when on it depends the peace of Europe and the world?

These volumes exhibit the conscientious and capable efforts of the group of

skilled scholars who have prepared them for publication under the editorial supervision of Dr. E. Wilder Spaulding, chief of the division of publication, and Dr. E. R. Perkins, editor of the series *Foreign Relations*. Among those listed as responsible for the work are Matilda F. Axton, James S. Beddie, John W. Foley, jr., and Morrison B. Giffen. The members of the historical profession must continue to be grateful for the competent labors of these brethren as this monumental series marches slowly forward toward completion.

*Yale University*

SAMUEL FLAGG BEMIS

BRANDEIS: A FREE MAN'S LIFE. By *Alpheus Thomas Mason*. (New York: Viking Press. 1946. Pp. xiii, 713. \$5.00.)

PROFESSOR Alpheus Thomas Mason has worked on Brandeis for upwards of fifteen years; his writings are outstanding and worthy of his subject. Because this biography is based on Brandeis' papers and conversations with him it may well be regarded as definitive. Certainly, it adds much to our knowledge of the life and times of an important American. We read in full for the first time of the bitter campaign that was waged against Brandeis' appointment; we learn of Brandeis' hostility to certain aspects of the New Deal; we get to know painfully well the Brahmin Boston that rejected this German Jew who had such an extraordinary sense of social justice. Professor Mason has done very well indeed and his book merits its great popularity.

Brandeis' was a full and satisfying life. It is perhaps too early and somewhat gratuitous to offer a judgment about its significance: for many of the forces among which he operated are still at work. Nevertheless, one might seek to set up a tentative balance sheet.

Brandeis reached his maturity during a period that marked the culmination of the first great onward surge of American industrial capitalism. Its achievements were noteworthy; its consequences were unlovely. It is fascinating to speculate about the existence of a rhythm in economic and social invention in terms of interlopers, as Henri Pirenne and Joseph Schumpeter have done. Following the first long wave of industrial expansion, from 1861 to 1893, there set in an equally long interval of the institutionalization of business. The Carnegies and the Rockefellers no longer were directing their companies; they were succeeded by lawyers and bankers who had none of those qualities that made the first innovators great and the country throbbing with life. Large corporations that were overcapitalized and therefore incapable or unwilling to explore the potentialities of expanding consumer markets; "communities of interest" that lined the pockets of insiders and gulled investors; a bitter hostility to organized labor and an irresponsibility toward the idea of a living wage that turned the workers to radicalism—these were some of the results of the period of consolidation and contraction during which Brandeis lived as a public figure.

He had the insights and limitations of Steffens, LaFollette, and Wilson. And because he was appalled at the grossness and afraid of the bigness of American business, he was willing to risk chopping off its vitality at the roots. In short, Brandeis refused to follow socialism; he remained really a populist to the end. What could he offer, therefore? Only a nostalgic Jeffersonian hope that the little men would survive as entrepreneurs. In the long run, he failed to see, as we see today as a result of our experiences with the agriculture of the 1930's, that the maintenance of the little men—because of their inefficiencies; because heavy subsidies had to be poured out endlessly—was a terrific price to pay for sentimentality. Brandeis was unable—it was no fault of his; populism in our modern world cannot be constructive—to devise a single idea for the decentralization of economic power. Certainly, his scheme for savings-bank insurance and his devotion to co-operation have come to very little.

I am not minimizing Brandeis' immediate influence. He called attention to the plight of underprivileged workers, to the skullduggeries of corporation executives, to the muddleheaded way the country's courts handled the questions of fair value and fair return, to the unnecessary and internecine warfare in our industrial relations, to the stupid manipulation of companies by investment bankers. He was a tribune of the people; more, he was the country's conscience. And much good came of his labors in consequence: industrial arbitration, the prudential-investment theory, the separation of investment affiliates from commercial banks, the responsibility of business management to its stockholders and to the public.

But power—in business, in government—he was afraid of; and because he was afraid, he sought its atomization. In the case of government, he followed Woodrow Wilson rather than the Theodore Roosevelt of 1910-12; significantly enough, Franklin D. Roosevelt followed the latter rather than the former. The New Deal is engrafted on the New Nationalism and not on the New Freedom. The central government cannot avoid its responsibilities: the real problem is to make the citizen more alert and the functionary more responsive.

Similarly, in regard to business, Brandeis shut his eyes to the achievement of increasing returns as a consequence of the greater efficiencies of integration. He made too much of monopoly and banker-domination, not enough of competition (albeit imperfect) and the rise of young men—the interlopers again—within the corporations themselves. If we are after welfare—and Brandeis was passionately devoted to welfare as much as to liberty and justice—we must work with Big Business and the Big State and we must come to grips with the question of power. Today, we are living in another cycle of expansion: perhaps that is why some of us are more sanguine than Brandeis was that social invention again will come to our assistance.

*Columbia University*

LOUIS M. HACKER

PRESIDENT AND CONGRESS. By *Wilfred E. Binkley*, Professor of History and Political Science, Ohio Northern University. (New York: Alfred A. Knopf. 1947. Pp. viii, 312, vii. \$4.00.)

THIS book is a historical analysis of the struggle for supremacy between the executive and legislative branches of the federal government from 1789 to 1947. It tells with authentic scholarship and absorbing interest the story of executive-legislative relationships from consideration of the problem in the Constitutional Convention (chapter 1) down through the Second World War. In graphic style Professor Binkley describes the recurring conflicts between President and Congress which are inherent in our system of separated powers. The swings of the political pendulum between alternating periods of presidential and congressional leadership are examined in thirteen readable chapters, followed by a final chapter setting forth the author's summary and conclusions.

Professor Binkley's chief objective in this book is to discover and describe just what American experience has been with our system of separated powers and how the perennial conflicts between the executive and legislative arms have been resolved during successive periods of our national history. The whole history of the continuing struggle is here illuminated in vivid detail from Federalist days down through the Second World War. The author concludes that the problem of integrating the executive and legislative branches remains unsolved. He rejects the parliamentary solution as "out of the question in the United States in the foreseeable future." Within our traditional constitutional framework he suggests as "feasible" reforms: better-balanced representation of rural and urban populations in Congress through poll tax repeal and reapportionment of congressional districts, and further strengthening of internal legislative organization and operation. Conflicts might be lessened if popular-leader Presidents dealt with a Congress more truly representative of the entire electorate. Meanwhile, legislative delays and compromises are viewed as the safety valve of sectional disputes.

First published in 1937 as *The Powers of the President*, this book has been completely rewritten, revised, and brought up to date. Perhaps its chief contribution is its historical documentation of the thesis of Thomas K. Finletter and others that better techniques of collaboration between the President and Congress must be devised to overcome the inherited handicap of our system of separated powers and to keep the means and ends of American government in balance.

*Washington, D. C.*

GEORGE B. GALLOWAY

AMERICAN POLICY AND THE CHINESE REVOLUTION, 1925-1928.

By *Dorothy Borg*, Research Associate, Institute of Pacific Relations. (New York: American Institute of Pacific Relations. 1947. Pp. x, 440. \$5.00.)

THE title of Dr. Borg's study indicates accurately its scope. The author has made a detailed analysis of the adjustment of American policy to the new situa-

tion in China which resulted from the resumption of the revolution under the auspices of the reorganized and revitalized Kuomintang. American policy had been made the basis for the "solutions" found for the "problem" of China at the Washington Conference of 1921-22. At that time the counterrevolutions, which followed the revolution of 1911-12, had brought the political life of China to a very low level. National unity, from the political and governmental standpoints, had all but disappeared, although, for purposes of international relations, whatever faction controlled Peking was dealt with by the Western Powers as the government of China. Under these circumstances it is not hard to understand that the United States felt that it had taken an advanced and liberal position at Washington in proposing and accepting the principles embodied in the Washington Conference agreements, and in being willing to fulfill the obligations then accepted. China was in no position to insist on the acceptance of her views as to the basis of relations with the Western Powers and Japan.

By the time that the Western states had completed ratification of the conference treaties and agreements and were ready to enter upon the negotiations, with respect to the customs, that were contemplated in the Washington Conference agreements, a new situation from that existing in 1921 had begun to take shape. By 1925 the broad stream of revolution which had been flowing in economic and social channels had developed a swiftly flowing political current. This political current gained momentum and force as groups otherwise divergent in their interests and aims were given a unified organization under the Kuomintang and were united under the banner of a nationalism which was then sloganized as anti-imperialism and antiforeignism. The Shanghai incident of May 30, 1925, and the subsequent popular reactions in China, gradually compelled the Western Powers to accept the existence of a new political-psychological situation during the years 1925-28. The United States entered the negotiations of the period with the feeling that justice, as defined at Washington under American leadership should be done to China. By 1928 the view had begun to be accepted that as much as possible must be accepted of the Chinese nationalist's view of the requirements of justice.

The foreign-relations problems presented during this three-year period, as Dr. Borg shows, fall into two major groups. The first included important aspects of those problems transmitted from the nineteenth century, as most recently screened through the Washington Conference. The second group included those questions developed out of the tactics or the course of the nationalist revolution. The first group comprised problems of definition of the terms of revision of the "unequal" treaties, with particular immediate reference to the customs and extra-territorial treaties. The second set of problems centered on (1) conditions at Shanghai, during and after the May 30 affair, and subsequently on the problem of defense of the international settlement and the concessions at Hankow and elsewhere, and (2) the Nanking incident of 1927.



Dr. Borg presents, against the essential background, a careful analysis of the negotiations, on the American side, with respect to both groups of questions, showing the interrelationships of the problems to one another in the development of policy. But she goes beyond this to give the reader a view of the forces which, in their interaction, served to shape American policy. This made it necessary to estimate the impact of missionary opinion and that of church bodies in the United States on policy. Treaty-port opinion, as expressed in the press and through resolutions of important organs of foreign opinion, had to be evaluated. Congressional opinion, and general American opinion as given editorial expression had to be considered. The impact on policy of the different views of the meaning of the evolving situation held by the American minister and the diplomatic community in China, on the one side, and by the Secretary of State and the Department of State, on the other, had to be assessed. The conclusions with respect to the interaction of these forces of opinion, as presented in the concluding chapter, are sustained by the evidence presented in the body of the study. The appended bibliography attests to the industry of the author, who has made a definite contribution to the field of diplomatic history as well as to that of China.

*University of Cincinnati*

HAROLD M. VINACKE

THE UNITED STATES AND THE NEAR EAST. By *E. A. Speiser*, Professor of Semitics, University of Pennsylvania. (Cambridge: Harvard University Press. 1947. Pp. xvi, 263. \$2.50.)

THE modern Near East is more fully than any other part of the world the product of enduring geographical and cultural factors. These are nowhere so clearly, concisely, and masterfully described as in the first two chapters of this second volume in the American Foreign Policy Library. Drawing on his unexcelled knowledge of the ancient Orient, Professor Speiser shows the relationship between man and environment, the general patterns of culture which developed, and the persistence of these patterns from the earliest historic times to our own day. In thirty-seven illuminating pages he paints this background with broad and deceptively simple strokes, whose correctness and lucidity testify to a truly subtle understanding of the subject.

Turning from the broad generalizations appropriate to the sweep of more than fifty centuries to the recent history of the Arab East, the author summarizes in seventy-six pages events down to November, 1946, emphasizing the years since 1914. Here his touch is less sure. The continuity of Islamic polity and society through four hundred years of Ottoman domination to modern Egypt seems to elude him. Mehmet Ali he calls an Albanian, as though the founder of the present Egyptian dynasty had been a rustic mountaineer from the hills instead of an Ottoman from Thrace, as Turkish as most Americans are American. And surely Professor Speiser cannot really regard the Rashid Ali affair of 1941 in Iraq as

"full-scale war" by any contemporary standard. Yet in general the facts are accurately given and judiciously chosen. No one can be expected to agree completely with the selection, but it is doubtful if anyone could do better.

In emphasis and interpretation the author is more difficult to follow. He shows a tendency to mistake the passionate Arab desire to be rid of foreign rulers, British, French, and potentially Zionist, for pro-Axis enthusiasm. And he exaggerates somewhat the negative and xenophobic side of Arab nationalism at the expense of the centripetal cultural and linguistic factors. His complete lack of sympathy for King Ibn Saud and the Wahabi regime is outspoken.

In Part III, "Problems of the Present and the Future," Professor Speiser necessarily deals with extremely controversial matters: strategic, economic, and social problems, the interests of the great powers, Zionism, and American objectives and policies. Though many of his broader statements are still valid to a considerable extent, the march of events has been extremely rapid during the eight months since he wrote his preface. His emphasis on Anglo-American rivalry and his occasional "sniping" at the British reflect the atmosphere of VE Day, when neither he nor our government foresaw a major Russian diplomatic offensive in the Near East. His statement that strategic considerations would make Britain "hold onto Palestine by whatever means" now seems questionable and throws out of focus his informative but quite confusing chapter on that tortured land. Apparently he fails to see that the United States can not simultaneously give active support to both the Zionist and the Arab national movements. His sharp criticisms of our foreign service are by no means fully supported by the reviewer's own experience in the Near East, but every university professor who worked in Washington during the war will sympathize with his caustic comments on our domestic bureaucracy.

There are two sketch-maps in the text and both are entirely adequate. But the main reference map, which is affixed to the boards both front and back, is a complete miscarriage of laudable efforts to show graphically the varied relief of the area. It has no "mountains" in Arabia, Sinai, Palestine, or Lebanon, and Yemen is "hill land"!

The nonprofessional reader, for whom Professor Speiser has written this book, will derive immense profit from it. Inevitably it shows haste, the nervous stress and strain of work under pressure in wartime Washington, and uneven depths of knowledge and understanding in the many fields which had to be covered. Yet its merits far outweigh its defects. It is an honest, well-balanced, and very well written effort by a fine scholar to inform his fellow citizens about an area which is "by reason of its position and its natural resources, and especially by reason of the fact that vital interests of the world's leading powers converge here and clash, the global center of gravity."

*Princeton University*

WALTER L. WRIGHT, JR.

## \* \* \* *Other Recent Publications* \* \* \*

### General History

DISCOVERY OF EUROPE: THE STORY OF AMERICAN EXPERIENCE IN THE OLD WORLD. Edited and with an Introduction by *Philip Rahv*. (Boston, Houghton Mifflin, 1947, pp. xix, 743, \$5.00.) This anthology is a popular convenience on the subject of cultural interplay which will more and more be a stimulating experience for both general reader and students of European and American history. Without eccentricity in selection, arrangement, or notes, Rahv's materials extend from 1772 to 1939. The familiar passages from such as Franklin, Melville, Hawthorne, Ticknor, Henry James, Randolph Bourne, William E. Dodd, and John Reed gain new meaning in this juxtaposition. The good, fast reading in this collection should not obscure the many teasing questions which always lurk in the simultaneous study of the subject and object of this "discovery of Europe." For example, Rahv's principal point is that these American travelers' experiences reveal the American character. Others would go further and say that some of the most acute writing on American—and European—history comes from this moment of cultural contact. How wise these travelers were is not now so important as the clue they give to those planning elaborate studies of the factors which create international anguish. Secondly, it sounds easy when Franklin says "For a thousand leagues have nearly the same effect with a thousand years" (p. 15), but here is a historiographical statement on space that has confounded many historians, especially now when the "leagues" hardly warrant definite measurement. Thirdly, although Rahv rightly limits himself, in this volume, he says enough to show that the whole literature of this kind may reveal profound cultural changes in commentator and in scene. When he quotes as one-sided yet essentially true—Europe is "the greatest thing in North America"—he means there is also the side that rejects Europe. There might also be another possibility, to play upon the quotation in a similarly one-sided way—the "United States is the greatest thing in Europe." There is irony, too, intentional or not. Margaret Fuller writes from Italy in 1847: "Take a good chance and do something; you have shown much good feeling toward the Old World in its physical difficulties—you ought to do still more in its spiritual endeavor. . . . It would please me much to see a cannon here, bought by the contributions of Americans" (p. 165). This valuable collection will not give a continuous picture of Europe or America, but historians will welcome it for what it is and find it a stimulus to further study.

RICHARD H. HEINDEL.

HENRY THE NAVIGATOR: THE STORY OF A GREAT PRINCE AND HIS TIMES. By *Elaine Sanceau*. (New York, W. W. Norton, 1947, pp. 318, \$3.50.) Among the men who helped to broaden the European horizon during the great age of exploration, few have attracted the interest of historians more strongly than that enigmatic Portuguese prince, Henry the Navigator. His work is known to every schoolboy, but the man himself remains an almost unknown quantity. Reticent and aloof, few people in his own age understood him, and he left few personal records. He is, then, a rather unhappy choice for the hero of the kind of biography Elaine Sanceau has written. For Miss Sanceau is interested primarily in personalities. This is a charmingly written story of Prince Henry's family, supplemented by tales of the personal adventures of his sea captains. Henry's brothers and sisters were all very

articulate people, as were some of his captains, so that Miss Sanceau has ample material for her stories. The hero himself, however, remains but dimly seen. But for this, considering the lack of evidence, the author can scarcely be blamed. Nor, perhaps, is it fair to criticize her for not having furnished more technical information about the voyages Henry planned or fuller discussion of the economic and political developments that made them possible. That was not the kind of book she chose to write.

WALLACE K. FERGUSON

SOUTH AFRICA UNDER KING MANUEL, 1495-1521. By *Sidney R. Welch*. (Cape Town, Juta, 1946, pp. vi, 532, 50s.) This is a book written by a private scholar who has devoted his leisure time over many years to a study of the Portuguese in southern Africa. Dr. Welch has made extensive use of Portuguese records, and for that reason alone his study will be well received. As a historian he is in the tradition of Theal, also a great admirer of Portuguese effort in Africa. Although it cannot be said that Dr. Welch adds a significantly new interpretation of the first generations of Portuguese exploration and commerce, his very readable book abounds in those intimate details that give warmth and life and character to a body that we otherwise know well. It was, we learn, not Livingstone in the nineteenth century but the Arabs of the early sixteenth century who pleaded with the African natives to cover their nakedness, since clothes bring morality to the buyer and profit to the seller. The book has no footnotes but has a useful appendix of bibliographical notes. The index is sketchy, which is perhaps regrettable in a book so full of detail.

C. W. DE KIEWIET

EUROPE AND TWO WORLD WARS. By *Arthur James May*, University of Rochester. (New York, Charles Scribner's Sons, 1947, pp. xi, 700, \$4.90.)

THE TREATY OF VERSAILLES AND AFTER: ANNOTATIONS OF THE TEXT OF THE TREATY. [Papers relating to the Foreign Relations of the United States: The Paris Peace Conference, 1919. Volume XIII. Department of State Publication 2757.] (Washington, Government Printing Office, 1947, pp. xiv, 1018, \$3.25.) When in October, 1943, President Roosevelt directed the preparation of an annotated edition of the Treaty of Versailles, he thought it might have some value in shaping a peace after the Second World War. It is more than doubtful whether the volume just published will prove of great practical use to Secretary Marshall, or that it will change existing opinions as to the respects in which the Treaty of Versailles was a good, bad, or indifferent document. It is, however, of undoubted value to the historian in that it brings together a large amount of important material. The plan of organization is to reprint the text of the treaty a section at a time, following each section with the details of how it was carried out or modified. In the case of reparations and German armament the supplementary material is particularly full. The annotations were prepared by Mr. Denys P. Myers, under the general review of Dr. Harley A. Notter and Dr. E. Wilder Spaulding. Dr. Bernadotte E. Schmitt collaborated in their final editing. The editorial policy was to present factual material only, avoiding all editorial judgments. Thus the reader, as he turns the pages, must mull over again his own opinions as to whether the treaty as a whole, or in some of its parts, was harsh, unfair or inexpedient, or whether perhaps the chief mistake of the victors who framed it may not have been their failure to stick together in enforcing it.

ARTHUR P. SCOTT

SEEN FROM E.A.: THREE INTERNATIONAL EPISODES. By *Herbert Feis*. (New York, Alfred A. Knopf, 1947, pp. xi, 313, vii, \$2.75.) Mr. Feis was economic adviser in

the State Department from 1931 to 1937 and adviser on international economic affairs from 1937 to 1944. In this publication of the Patten Foundation lectures at Indiana University he has drawn upon his State Department experience in three international episodes. He presents his material as a "memoir" or running narrative without attempting much in the way of formal analysis or synthesis. He seldom indicates sources, but his own notes apparently supplied most of the data. His method produces interesting material for the student of international relations and, on occasion, tense stories for the lay reader, but for the general historian seeking to interpret events, the major issues are often obscured by too many meetings and negotiations. Perhaps fourteen years' service in the State Department trains one to present the "facts" and let others do the generalizing. Dealing with the matter of sanctions in the Italian-Ethiopian question, for example, Mr. Feis brings out clearly the local problems within the nations that frustrated international co-operation, but he discreetly stops short of analyzing the underlying dilemmas of British diplomacy. Yet to many scholars the Ethiopian question, as well as the Japanese and Spanish problems which are not discussed, cuts much deeper than the immediate relations of the League to these erring members. A more penetrating analysis might place the root of the trouble in the British desire for a world adjustment of power that would be both "balanced" excluding Russia and "balanced" against Russia. Mr. Feis's narrative of the United States's efforts to secure a stockpile of rubber before the war, a campaign in which he played a leading part, and his account of the tedious negotiations over the position of American oil companies in the Near East show the difficulties of combining the needs of national preparedness for war with the day-to-day demands of "business as usual." Rubber stockpiles, either government or private, might make American commercial buyers more independent of the Anglo-Dutch control authorities. Government protection for certain oil companies holding Near Eastern concessions might affect the markets of their competitors. As a result, the stockpile of rubber was inadequate, and an Anglo-American oil agreement has yet to be ratified by Congress. The effect of all three essays is to leave the reader with a strong impression of the complexity of international affairs, the difficulty of international co-operation and the unpredictability of international events.

THOMAS C. COCHRAN

**DICTATORSHIP AND POLITICAL POLICE: THE TECHNIQUE OF CONTROL BY FEAR.** By *E. K. Bramstedt*. [International Library of Sociology and Social Reconstruction.] (New York, Oxford University Press, 1947, pp. ix, 275, \$4.75.) Dr. Ernst Kohn Bramstedt, author of a searching study on aristocracy and the middle classes in Germany, 1830-1900, set himself a fascinating task in the present book: he wanted to write contemporary history on a sociological basis in the very thick of events. He started work in the summer of 1942 and finished shortly after the fateful happenings of July 20, 1944. The results of his experiment are valuable, even though now many important details are known of which he could have no notice, and certain events appear in a somewhat different perspective. The book deals with three basic questions. The first, whether a systematically working secret police is a novelty, is answered in the negative. Bramstedt shows on the examples of Napoleon I and Napoleon III that dictatorship in the nineteenth century tried to keep in power by methods of vigilance and terror not unlike those employed by the Gestapo, though they were of course far less scientific, and the reader feels that Fouché was not much better than Himmler. The second question relates to structure and function of secret police in our time. This part suffers from a grave shortcoming. While OVRA, the Italian secret police, and especially the Gestapo are dissected with great thoroughness, no attention is paid

to the OGPU, their Russian counterpart and (in some respects) their model. Bramstedt claims that for various reasons it has not been feasible to embark on an analysis of the Soviet secret police, but unfortunately he does not elaborate on the statement. Another less serious limitation of this "interim report," as the author calls it, is the fact that the activities of fifth columns are not included in the presentation, although there is a logical connection between them and the machinations of the secret police. Finally, Bramstedt answers in considerable detail the third and hardest question: how Goering, Himmler, Heydrich, and their henchmen could exert such a devastating influence on the people of continental Europe. He explains very lucidly the techniques of terror by which they gained and kept their tight grip on the population, and he characterizes their activities aptly as a "systematic modern *homo homini lupus* approach on an almost scientific basis." In a number of appendixes he reproduces some documents which throw additional light on the mentality of Heinrich Himmler and on the workings of his police apparatus. Bramstedt's study may suffer from those inadequacies which come from necessarily incomplete information. Nevertheless, the book deserves attention for its unusually effective combination of the historical and sociological approaches. It is hoped that some day the author may replace his "interim report" by a definitive work; he is eminently equipped for this task. FELIX E. HIRSCH

THE FARMER IN THE SECOND WORLD WAR. By *Walter W. Wilcox*, Professor of Agricultural Economics, University of Wisconsin. (Ames, Iowa State College Press, 1947, pp. xii, 410, \$4.00.) Historians, as well as agricultural economists, will be grateful to the United States Department of Agriculture, the Social Science Research Council, the University of Wisconsin, and Dr. Wilcox for making available the volume under review. It is a comprehensive study based largely on congressional committee hearings, statistical reports, and memorandums from various governmental agencies, supplemented by information secured in the press and by means of personal interviews. Dr. Wilcox, a member of the War Food Administration in 1943, was confronted with a mass of data, much of it in mimeographed form, but he successfully gleaned the essentials of the story and presented them in a clear, logical manner. In the words of the author the survey "is an attempt to bring into one focus the many related developments in agriculture during the period of hostilities." Major attention is paid to the United States, but the rest of the world is not entirely neglected. The pattern is pretty much the same throughout: a statement of the condition of various phases of agriculture at the outbreak of war is given; then the effects of the war are treated, frequently with a comparison to developments in World War I; and finally comes a discussion of the impact of the war on the future of agriculture. Since government control of farming has expanded so greatly since 1933, "records and interpretations of government actions and farmers' response to these programs form a large part of the historical record." Wilcox feels that "more serious mistakes were made in the livestock and feed programs than in any other sector of agriculture during the war period," but "price policies, in an over-all sense, . . . were intelligent and successful." Congress and the OPA made their greatest mistake by imposing "price ceilings on thousands of products without adequate provision for keeping the supplies flowing through the established channels." Farm income in the United States more than doubled between 1939 and 1943, and farm prices averaged from 106 to 119 per cent of parity 1942-1945, yet "1946 witnessed the greatest famine in the civilized world's history." Wilcox concludes, "Though substantial progress has been recorded in farm families' standard of living and in the legislation designed to improve and stabilize their incomes, the basic problems remain unsolved." MERRILL E. JARCHOW



WARTIME CORRESPONDENCE BETWEEN PRESIDENT ROOSEVELT AND POPE PIUS XII. With an Introduction and Explanatory Notes by *Myron C. Taylor*, Personal Representative of the President of the United States of America to His Holiness Pope Pius XII. (New York, Macmillan, 1947, pp. xiii, 127, \$2.50.) Ever since Mr. Roosevelt, on December 22, 1939, appointed Mr. Myron C. Taylor as his personal representative, with the honorary rank of ambassador, to His Holiness (a mission which has been continued by President Truman), there has been opposition from some quarters to this action. Just what has been accomplished by Mr. Taylor will not be fully known until the nature of the instructions and dispatches between the White House and its representative at the Vatican is disclosed. It is known that the first reliable information of Japan's intention to quit the war came to President Roosevelt from Mr. Taylor. The letters here beautifully printed, with prefaces by President Truman and Pope Pius XII, and with a revealing introduction and explanatory notes by Mr. Taylor, which place the letters within the historical framework, show more of the character of this mission than has heretofore been told. The correspondence, covering a period of five years, is not merely an exchange of pious and moral platitudes. The letters illustrate the main purposes of the commission, namely, to mobilize the moral forces of mankind and to invite the co-operation of the pope in keeping the war from spreading, in discussing the bases of peace, and in the alleviation of suffering. To this story Mr. Taylor contributes more than the letters. Something is said of the unsuccessful effort to keep Mussolini a nonbelligerent, of the problem of aiding Russia, whose political philosophy was condemned by the Vatican, and of the bombing of Rome. If this brief and incomplete record of one phase of this unofficial mission does not form a chapter in the diplomatic history of the war, it at least contributes an interesting footnote.

L. F. Stock

LA SECONDE GUERRE MONDIALE (1939-1945). Par *Roger Céré*, Professeur d'Histoire Diplomatique, Maître de conférences à l'Institut d'Etudes Politiques. ["Que sais-je?" 265.] (Paris, Presses universitaires de France, 1947, pp. 118.)

MAKING THE PEACE TREATIES, 1941-1947. A history of the making of the peace beginning with the Atlantic Charter, the Yalta and Potsdam Conferences, and culminating in the drafting of peace treaties with Italy, Bulgaria, Hungary, Rumania, and Finland. [Department of State, Publication 2774, European Series 24.] (Washington, Government Printing Office, 1947, pp. ix, 150, 50 cents.)

THE GREEK DILEMMA: WAR AND AFTERMATH. By *William Hardy McNeill*. (Philadelphia, J. B. Lippincott, 1947, pp. 291, \$3.50.) The first chapter of this work summarizes events from the advent of Venizelos to the 1940 Italo-Greek war, and the following ten chapters describe in detail the war, the occupation, and the post-liberation developments to the third return of King George in September, 1946. The book is timely, well organized, clearly written, and based on firsthand observation during the author's twenty months' service in Greece as American assistant military attaché. There is evident, however, an overreliance upon personal experiences. No footnotes or bibliography are provided, but the text indicates that little use, if any, has been made of the very considerable body of important Greek material on these years. The other chief weakness is the rather obvious partiality for the British as against the Greek Left. Admittedly recent events in Greece will remain a source of controversy for decades, and no account of these events can satisfy all readers. It needs to be noted, nevertheless, that the available evidence does not justify the assertion that the EAM



resistance movement sought to seize power in December, 1944, and was forestalled by British intervention. Similarly it is difficult to accept the explanation that the British refused to permit the republican Sophoulis government to dismiss extreme royalist officers because no competent republican officers were available. The concluding chapter leaves the impression that Greece is doomed to perpetual poverty because of lack of natural resources. This is not the case. The recent report of the FAO Mission for Greece and numerous earlier studies by Greek technical experts show that a respectable living standard is possible if the available resources are fully and efficiently exploited.

L. S. STAVRIANOS

HUNGARY AT THE CONFERENCE OF PARIS [1946]: PAPERS AND DOCUMENTS RELATING TO THE CZECHOSLOVAK DRAFT AMENDMENT CONCERNING THE TRANSFER OF 200,000 HUNGARIANS FROM CZECHOSLOVAKIA TO HUNGARY. Edited by *Zoltán Baranyai*. [Hungary and the Conference of Paris, Volume IV.] (Budapest, Hungarian Ministry for Foreign Affairs, 1947, pp. xxi, 201.)

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Ancient History<sup>1</sup>

T. Robert S. Broughton

GREEK STUDIES. By *Gilbert Murray*, formerly Regius Professor of Greek in the University of Oxford. (New York, Oxford University Press, 1947, pp. 231, \$5.00.) Of the eleven studies contained in this volume none is more recent than 1941, while one ("The 'Tradition,' or Handing Down of Greek Literature") appeared in the *Yale Review* as far back as 1913, and need not be discussed here. Not only do these studies vary widely in date of composition but also they are written on quite different levels, some for the general reading public, others for specialists. Three essays in particular ("Hellenism"; "Greece and England"; and "Humane Letters and Civilization") are designed to demonstrate the importance of Greek and Latin for the modern world. On such a theme originality can hardly be expected, but the unfailing charm of Murray's style, as well as his magnificent confidence in the permanence of classical values during the darkest period of the war (see esp. pp. 20-21), makes these essays anything but commonplace. Some readers may be interested in comparing them with Victor Ehrenberg's less sanguine, perhaps more thoughtful observations on the same theme (*Aspects of the Ancient World* [New York, 1946], pp. 234 ff.). Of more interest to scholars are three lectures delivered at Cambridge in 1928 (pp. 87-170). Each lecture describes the transformation of conventional values brought about by maturing Greek thought, the first two being concerned primarily with Sophocles' *Trachiniae* and Euripides' *Troades*. It is gratifying to see that Gilbert Murray occasionally tips the scales in favor of Sophocles (pp. 121 ff.). One or two examples may suffice to show why the third lecture, on Theopompus (pp. 149-70), is less convincing. In discussing Theopompus' use of myths, Murray says: "Myths of this sort were not, I think, in the ordinary practice of the historians" (p. 165). Actually, Theopompus himself tells us he intended to surpass Herodotus, Ctesias, Hallanicius and the writers on India in their use of myth (see Strabo I.2.35). Then again, Murray makes the rather rash statement that Isocrates "reformed the study of history, and . . . practically all his reforms were right" (p. 151). His use of the Cynic term *paracharaxis* could have been made more effective had Murray revised his judgment on Diogenes of Sinope (p. 106) in the light of recent scholarship (cf. Donald R. Dudley, *A History of Cynicism* [London, 1937], n. 3, pp. 54-55). Of the remaining essays one ("The Beginnings of Grammar, or First Attempts at a Science of Language in Greece") recommends itself particularly to serious students of language, and is distinguished by remarkable clarity on a technical subject. The others are a series of annual lectures given to classical students at Oxford, on the topics of Greek literature, history, and philosophy, respectively (pp. 22-86).

TRUEDELL S. BROWN

EXCAVATIONS AT OLYNTHUS. Part XII, DOMESTIC AND PUBLIC ARCHITECTURE. By *David M. Robinson*, Vickers Professor of Archaeology and Epigraphy and Lecturer on Greek Literature in the Johns Hopkins University. [The Johns Hopkins University Studies in Archaeology, No. 36.] (Baltimore, Johns Hopkins University Press, 1946, pp. xxx, 519, plates, \$30.00.) Most of this new Olynthus volume is devoted to the houses excavated in 1938, a rather generous "supplement" (p. v) to *Olynthus*, VIII, *The Hellenic House*. Indeed the question may well occur whether

<sup>1</sup> Under this and the following headings unsigned notices are, in general, contributed by the persons whose names appear at the heads of the divisions and who are otherwise responsible only for the lists of articles and documents.

the size and cost of this "μέγα βιβλίον," especially under present conditions, is warranted by the amount of new evidence. The most valuable new material is Dr. Mylonas' careful re-examination of the difficult flue-kitchen problem in Excursus II (which there is no space to examine here); otherwise, outside of a little new data on wall decoration and on adobe bricks, the rest does little to alter the previous picture as presented in *Olynthus*, VIII (see Professor Dow's review in *Am. Hist. Rev.*, XLIV [April, 1939], 580). The houses in general are definitely less interesting than those of preceding campaigns; the best, the House of Many Colors, is much inferior to the Villa of Good Fortune (excavated 1934). Only one mosaic floor was found and that of haphazard design. The new data on the city-plan are interesting but somewhat disappointing, for while we are told that corners were found on Avenue G at 300 Greek feet from Avenue F (as I had conjectured, see *Olynthus*, VIII, 31) yet nowhere are any actual measurements given; moreover the use of dashed lines rather than dots, as done in *Olynthus*, VIII, Pl. 109, has made the plan on Plate 271 very difficult to read and check on what is certain and what conjectural. Much space could have been saved by more concise descriptions (for example by omitting room dimensions and "finds," except where significant), by avoiding repetitions and unfruitful alternative suggestions, also by reserving much of the learned documentation (often needlessly repeated from *Olynthus*, VIII) for separate articles. The illustrations are generally good though lavish. There is no space here to correct the rather numerous slips in citing directions or giving dimensions; misprints are not particularly frequent considering the size of the book. A few notes follow: (1) the stairway in the Toronto model is *not* in the wrong place (p. xi); (2) page 225 note 7, the instances referred to are *not* the first found at Olynthus nor do they contradict the statement in *Olynthus*, VIII, which explicitly referred to the plastering of exterior *adobe walls* not to rubble foundations (plastered foundations were found in the alley of A vi, *Olynthus*, VIII, Pl. 97); (3) page 231, the stairbase is surely not *in situ* as a stairway in such a position is practically impossible; (4) page 309, a plan of the "arsenal" is lacking; (5) pages 323 f., "no mosaics were uncovered in 1931"—more were found in 1931 than in any other year! (5) Pls. I-III, the buff background given to the mosaics existed only in Von Peschke's imagination, being simply gray cement; (6) the plans on Pls. 238, 240, and 246 lack both scale and compass direction. Apart from the houses, the stoa-like building A iv 10 (pp. 82-94) presents interesting problems, and the excavation of the long aqueduct leading to the fountain-house (pp. 95-114) has added much important information. A small Byzantine church was also excavated.

J. WALTER GRAHAM

THE INTELLECTUAL ADVENTURE OF ANCIENT MAN: AN ESSAY ON SPECULATIVE THOUGHT IN THE ANCIENT NEAR EAST. By H. and H. A. Frankfort, John A. Wilson, Thorkild Jacobsen, William A. Irwin. (Chicago, University of Chicago Press, 1946, pp. vii, 401, \$4.00.) Though the various chapters in this volume were first given as a public course of lectures in the division of humanities of the University of Chicago, they are by no means superficial popularizations. On the contrary, they are such learned and careful discussions of difficult matters that the reviewer wonders whether even the youthful mental giants whom Chancellor Hutchins reportedly has assembled at the University of Chicago did not at times find them a little stiff. A person wishing to derive full value from these lectures must read and study them, not merely listen to them with the zeal of an exemplary undergraduate. Mr. and Mrs. Frankfort contribute the introductory and concluding chapters, the first dealing with certain aspects of primitive mentality, especially its tendency to regard all nature as animate and akin to man, while the last traces the change from this at-

titude to the objectivity of the Greeks. The authors declare that primitives and the men of the ancient Orient conceived the relation between man and nature in the formula "I-Thou" while the Greeks and we express it as "I-It." The other authors each repeat this formula once or twice, but they certainly cannot be charged with cutting their material to fit this preconceived notion. In the remaining ten chapters Professors Wilson, Jacobsen, and Irwin, discuss the thought of the Egyptians, the Mesopotamians, and the Hebrews respectively, laying especial emphasis upon ideas regarding the nature of the universe, the function of the state, and the values of life. Each finds a physical foundation for such speculation in the geography of the region under discussion, describes the cosmology and theology of its inhabitants, and shows how these ideas worked out in political and social life. Perhaps the most interesting chapter in the book is the one in which Professor Wilson contrasts the free and enthusiastic self-reliance of the Egyptians under the Old and Middle Kingdoms—the former aristocratic, the latter democratic—with the regimented bureaucracy of imperial times. He attributed this change, or decay, to a fear psychosis engendered by the Hyksos invasion at the end of the Middle Kingdom. The authors of such a book as this must be not merely archaeologists and philologists and historians but philosophers and theologians as well; the competence of the present authors in each field is high, yet the most theological of them all, on page 260, seems to confuse the Immaculate Conception with the Virgin Birth! This volume is described as "An Oriental Institute Essay," which seems to imply that it is the first of a new series designed to supplement the *Communications*, *Studies*, and *Publications*, which the Institute has been issuing for several years. The *Essay* apparently is conceived as less formal, and as having a wider popular appeal, than these volumes for specialists, yet learned and authoritative. The Oriental Institute is to be congratulated upon this new venture and upon its first *Essay*.

J. W. SWAIN

SEAL IMPRESSIONS OF NUZI. By *Edith Porada*. [The Annual of the American Schools of Oriental Research, Volume XXIV for 1944-1945, edited for the Trustees by Millar Burrows and E. A. Speiser.] (New Haven, American Schools of Oriental Research, 1947, pp. viii, 138, plates, \$3.50.)

THE HISTORY OF THE DECLINE AND FALL OF THE ROMAN EMPIRE. By *Edward Gibbon*. Three volumes. (New York, Heritage Press, 1946, \$17.50.) This fine edition is new evidence of the continued popularity of Gibbon's great history. The twentieth century has already seen at least four inexpensive editions of the *Decline and Fall*, and two expensive ones, the former of which have often been listed among the best sellers by their respective publishers. In the present edition Gibbon's text is reprinted entire but the notes are much abbreviated: all references to authorities are deleted, as are the passages which Gibbon left veiled in the obscurity of a learned language; the notes which remain are obiter dicta upon matters discussed in the text. A unique and valuable feature of this new edition consists of reproductions of about fifty of Piranesi's etchings of Roman ruins. These famous drawings were made at about the time of Gibbon's visit to Rome in 1764 and they enable us to form a juster estimate of what the historian had been looking at and thinking about during the weeks preceding the famous evening in October when, as he sat musing amidst the ruins of the Capitol, the idea of writing the decline and fall of the city first started to his mind.

J. W. SWAIN

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## Medieval History

Bernard J. Holm

THE ANCESTRY AND LIFE OF GODFREY OF BOUILLON. By John C. Andressohn. [Indiana University Publications, Social Science Series. No. 5.] (Bloomington, Indiana University, 1947, pp. 135, \$1.50.) In later legend Godfrey of Bouillon was the greatest hero of the First Crusade; actually he was one of the most important but not one of the most brilliant leaders in that eventful expedition. While he has been the subject of several popular lives, until the present there has never been a scholarly biography attempted. In this slender volume, Dr. Andressohn gives us our first critical life of Godfrey based almost exclusively on the original Latin sources. Unfortunately Godfrey was little more than a brave soldier and his life does not hold the interest of such a figure as Bohemond. Further, Dr. Andressohn has confined his work exclusively to the deeds of Godfrey, without trying to build up a general picture of the crusade in either its European or Eastern setting. Dr. Andressohn does not claim for his hero virtues he did not possess. He recognizes that Godfrey was overshadowed by Bohemond and Raymond de St. Gilles throughout the crusade, and that he became ruler of Jerusalem only because the more influential leaders refused the position. In clearing away much of the legend of Godfrey and in bringing the man into his true historical place, Dr. Andressohn has done a valuable work. The first two chapters of the book deal with Godfrey's ancestors, both paternal and maternal, and with his life before the crusade. Here Andressohn gives a good picture of Lorraine in the eleventh century; unfortunately the genealogical tables do not show all the persons mentioned in the text and seem overly abridged. Concerning Godfrey before the crusade, little is to be known and the author seems to have exhausted his subject; but when he takes Godfrey on the crusade, Andressohn seems to omit too much of the necessary background. Perhaps he intended his book only for specialists, but it would be clearer if more consideration had been given to the political situation in the East and to the general problem of the crusade. Godfrey's personal activities are chronicled in detail, but the whole account is rather too much a record of battles, and squabbles among the crusader chiefs, which seem to be occurring almost in a vacuum. The last chapter, on Godfrey as ruler of Jerusalem, is also unsatisfactory in this same respect. A fuller discussion of the relations of the patriarch with the secular rulers would have been valuable, and the political organization of the kingdom is passed over rather briefly. Exception must be taken to Andressohn's statement on pages 105-106 that Godfrey "was king in fact, if not in name, and later writers as well as contemporary documents nearly always designate him as king." In none of the contemporary documents listed in Röhrich's *Regesta* is he referred to as king, and the subsequent kings of Jerusalem always numbered themselves in succession from Baldwin, first Latin king of Jerusalem. The deficiencies of the work are indicated in the bibliography. No

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\*I owe the titles marked with an asterisk to the kindness of Dr. Glanville Downey, who sent me a list of Czechoslovak studies in ancient history during the war which had been prepared by Professor Dobiaš. T.R.S.B.



reference is made to either Arab or Armenian sources; Anna Comnena is the only Eastern chronicler cited. While these authors may not say anything specifically about Godfrey personally, they are necessary to the general picture of the crusade. Also Dr. Andressohn omits many of the standard recent works on the crusades which one would expect to find in any bibliography in the field: Nicholson's *Tancred*, Grousset's *Histoire des Croisades*, the studies of M. Grandclaude on the Assizes of Jerusalem, Röhricht's *Deutsche Pilgerreisen*, Paetow's *Essays on the Crusades*, Stevenson's *Crusaders in the East* are among the works missing. This is the more conspicuous as he includes such items as Belloc's *Book of the Bayeux Tapestry* and the *Victoria County Histories* of Essex and Hertford. Dr. Andressohn's study has filled an important gap; unfortunately one cannot but feel that he has missed an opportunity to write a really significant work.

JOHN L. LAMONTE

EDWARD OF CARNARVON, 1284-1307. By *Hilda Johnstone*, Sometime Professor of History in the University of London. [Publications of the University of Manchester, No. CCXCV, Historical Series No. LXXXIII.] (Manchester, Manchester University Press, 1946, pp. xii, 146, 14s.) With this volume Dr. Johnstone rounds out the long series of studies on Edward II she began under the direction of Professor Tout at Manchester. It now remains for some historian to write the more complete study of Edward II promised in Dr. Johnstone's revision of Tout's *Place of the Reign of Edward II in English History* (Manchester, 1936), and it is to be hoped that she herself will undertake the task before succumbing completely to the lure of English local history. No one else could do it so well. Dr. Johnstone has set about to investigate the character and career of Edward of Carnarvon during the period before his accession to the throne with a view to obtaining "some clues towards the explanation of his later policy and outlook." Her account offers a good many incidental suggestions for profitable further research and provides an excellent picture of what the life of thirteenth century noble children was like. Most of the fresh evidence she utilizes comes from the surviving wardrobe accounts, which are very complete and quite informative. As a matter of fact, they tell almost more about the Scottish wars of Edward I than about the doings of his son and are as valuable as much for the one as for the other. Her use of them provides an additional argument for printing the wardrobe records *in extenso*. Dr. Johnstone's conclusion is that Edward was handicapped initially by being denied the ease and confidence that comes from being a member of a happy family circle during childhood. This may account, though only in part, for Edward's attraction to Peter of Gavaston. Further disadvantages lay in the burdensome French marriage and in the fact that the young prince was unable to play his part and to win reputation in enterprises that were destined to be successful. Here Dr. Johnstone is referring to relations with Scotland and France, and her judgment is that Edward can be justly criticized for "impolicy and lack of courage in failing to come boldly into the open with the lessons experience had taught him." But the question may be asked whether it would not have required a stronger king even than Edward I to cope successfully with the problems to which Edward of Carnarvon fell heir. She comes nearer the truth when she states in conclusion that the prince "was born into a world which had its rigid conventions and which knew of no way of fitting his particular type of unconventionality into its scheme of life."

G. P. CUTTINO

ROAD TO REFORMATION: MARTIN LUTHER TO THE YEAR 1521. By *Heinrich Boehmer*. Translated from the German by *John W. Doberstein* and *Theodore G.*



*Tappert*. (Philadelphia, Muhlenberg Press, 1946, pp. xiii, 449, \$4.00.) This is a translation of a well-known German book entitled *Der junge Luther*, published in the series intended for the general reader entitled "Die deutschen Führer." First published in 1925, it was republished in a third edition in 1940, with an appendix by Heinrich Bornkamm. The author, Heinrich Boehmer (1869-1922), was professor of church history first at Leipzig then at Marburg, and was a veteran student of Luther and his times. The story ends with the seizure of Luther by his friends on his way home from Worms in 1521. "From this point onward Luther's own lifestory can be told only in connection with the development of the evangelical movement." The author's lifelong, critical study of the sources enables him to write a vivid narrative. He corrects many details of the traditional account. To cite but one instance out of many: Luther's aversion to the indulgence system antedated the appearance of Tetzel. It can be traced back at least to 1515, and he had already written a formal tractate upon the subject. The Ninety-five Theses were intended simply to force the issue into the open. It took, not fourteen days, but more nearly fourteen weeks before they were disseminated throughout Germany. Each of Luther's early writings is briefly summarized in its proper place, and the development of Luther's religious experience and thinking is carefully traced. The fact that Boehmer was an orthodox Lutheran enhances the historicity of the account, for it ensures a sympathetic understanding. The result is to reinforce the established view of the conservatism of Luther and the slow, almost reluctant, growth of his revolutionary views. The appearance of Boehmer's work in its English dress is therefore most welcome.

DONALD MCFAYDEN

HET MEMORIAAL VAN JEFHAN MAKIEL, KLERK EN ONTVANGER VAN  
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OBITUAIRE DU MONASTERE DE GROENENDAEL DANS LA FORET DE  
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Modern European History

BRITISH EMPIRE AND COMMONWEALTH OF NATIONS

Francis H. Herrick

STUDIES OF BRITISH NEWSPAPERS AND PERIODICALS FROM THEIR BEGINNING TO 1800: A BIBLIOGRAPHY. By Katherine Kirtley Weed and Richmond Pugh Bond. [Studies in Philology, Extra Series, Number 2.] (Chapel Hill, University of North Carolina Press, 1946, pp. 233, cloth \$3.50, paper \$2.50.) In 1927 appeared *A Census of British Newspapers and Periodicals, 1620-1800*, compiled by Professors R. S. Crane and F. B. Kaye, which subsequent students of British history and literature in the period covered have found to be very useful. Now from the same press comes a supplementary compilation by Professor Bond and Mrs. Weed listing studies of these newspapers and periodicals with less complete supplementary lists dealing with those published in Europe and America. The items relating to British newspapers and periodicals are arranged in five categories: "Bibliographies and Bibliographical Studies"; "Beginnings of the Newspaper: Corantos, Newspapers, Newsletters"; "General Studies"; "Individual Newspapers and Periodicals; Editors, Authors, and Publishers; Towns and Counties"; "Special Subjects." Items in the last category deal with such subjects as advertising, the character, circulation and reading public, clubs, freedom of the press, stamp tax. There is an index of the authors of the items listed, over two thousand in number. As is apt to be the case with such lists, an informed user will discover omissions that impress him as important and will disagree in some respects with the method of arrangement. The compilers are more familiar with literary than with political subjects. All students will be grateful, however, that specific directions for finding so many items are made easily available.

W. T. LAPRADE

THE WEALTH OF ENGLAND FROM 1496 TO 1760. By G. N. Clark. (New York, Oxford University Press, 1947, pp. 199, \$1.25.) Yes, the use of wealth instead of capital

in this title is significant. It implies that the author is thinking of and recording the material position of classes and groups and not dealing with their production or struggle. It means that the positions have been attained. There is no Marxian interpretation. In 1496 arrangements were made to have Cabot embark upon his explorations on behalf of England. In 1760 England was waging a successful world war. The years in between these two dates were heavy with meaning for the political and economic future of Great Britain. Professor Clark has presented the facts of English history during the period in question in an entertaining manner. In fact, this little book is pleasant reading and informative—just such a book as we might take on a train trip between London and Edinburgh. It is based on the researches of others and of the author himself—in the Anglo-Dutch field. But it is not challenging, arresting, or stimulating. The preference of the author for facts and breadth of treatment is outstanding. When we finish the delightful little volume, we cannot help saying, “Well, what has it told us?” The answer perhaps is, “Too much.” The author is a pretty sure-footed scholar. He slipped on a nursery rhyme, however, when he alleged that people ate blackbirds. Perhaps they did, but the evidence does not lie in these lines: “Sing a song of sixpence, a pocket full of rye,/ Four and twenty blackbirds baked in a pie.” If he had quoted the next two lines, he would have seen that when the pie was opened, the birds began to sing. Dangerous historical evidence, these nursery rhymes! The period of 264 years is dealt with in eight chapters in the form of four surveys of conditions and developments: in 1496, from 1496 to 1572, from 1572 to 1662, and from 1662 to 1760. We learn about the policy of the government; the customs system; the existence of artisans, retailers, and merchants; the rise in prices; rivalry in foreign trade; and the growth of industry. The treatment of the last-named subject is a useful introduction to the study of the later Industrial Revolution. I miss, however, an adequate treatment of the work of the London goldsmiths, the South Sea Bubble, which had such significance for the later period, the contributions of the great agricultural leaders, and the nexus of mercantile capitalism, which was giving way to industrial capitalism. No other period in British history displayed so much dynamic power, leadership, creative capacity, and accomplishment on the part of individual men in various walks of life. Professor Clark has wholly missed the spirit of the times. Rarely does he see men planning or managing. Rarely does he balance success and failure. Things happened but no one brought them about. We should judge this volume as a piece of dignified popularization. If we do this, we will not criticize the author on the ground that he says little about accomplishments in research or about problems for future study. To the reviewer it would seem far better to have dealt with a few large topics, leaving out the details of the four surveys and weaving the topics into a connected whole. The very essence of popularization is oversimplification: the scholarly instincts of Professor Clark, however, rebel against such treatment. N. S. B. GRAS

NEWTON AT THE MINT. By *Sir John Craig*. (Cambridge, at the University Press; New York, Macmillan, 1946, pp. 128, \$2.50.) Newton and Pepys have become legends: Pepys the man-about-town, frequenting playhouse and coffee-shop; Newton the scientist, with a stray apple to thank for his greatest discovery. Students of the *Diary* and the *Principia* may smile, but how many of *them* would correctly picture the diarist or the physicist as a hard-working bureaucrat: the one a top-notch naval expert; the other for some thirty years chief administrator of the mint? In *Newton at the Mint* Sir John Craig, the present deputy master of the mint, concentrates on Sir Isaac the civil servant, showing the learned Lucasian professor in the novel role of money-assayer and counterfeiting sleuth. In Newton's first years as warden the mint was busy with the great recoinage, but Newton had had no part in deciding that controversial measure. The



later years of his administration were largely occupied with routine matters, Craig's specialized study highlights an unfamiliar aspect of Newton's career, but aside from a digression on the controversy with Leibnitz over the discovery of the calculus, and a more diverting one on the liaison between Newton's niece and the Whig leader, Lord Halifax—a love affair that apparently had nothing to do with Newton's appointment, though a contemporary gossip preferred to believe otherwise—there is little of general historical interest. One error should be noted. Halifax was never "lord treasurer." For some years he sat at the head of the treasury board; but the office of lord treasurer was in commission throughout William's reign. R. WALCOTT, JR.

THE NAVIGATION OF THE GREAT OUSE BETWEEN ST. IVES AND BEDFORD IN THE SEVENTEENTH CENTURY. Edited by T. S. Willan, Lecturer in History in the University of Manchester. [The Publications of the Bedfordshire Historical Record Society, Volume XXIV.] (Streatley, Beds., the Society, 1946, pp. 153.)

FROM SAIL TO STEAM: THE FINAL DEVELOPMENT AND PASSING OF THE SAILING SHIP. By H. Moyse-Barilett. [The Historical Association, General Series, G4.] (London, the Association, 1946, pp. 19, 1s. 1d.)

FOUR WHO SPOKE OUT: BURKE, FOX, SHERIDAN, PITT. By Robert T. Oliver. (Syracuse, Syracuse University Press, 1946, pp. x, 196, \$2.50.) The author makes, for the period 1765 to 1806, "an effort to assess the means by which the four greatest speakers of the time exercised their influence over the English Parliament and nation. . . . Historians, political scientists, and students of speech will be interested in the personalities and techniques . . . discussed in these pages" (p. ix). Condensation of the background history into the first third of the book necessarily makes some statements debatable. Others—e.g., that the elder Pitt resigned in 1760, that Young traveled "all over Europe," that the crop rotation he condemned "permitted the fields to lie fallow on alternate years"—are misleading. No footnotes cite the sources of even the matter directly quoted, and the want is felt where, too often, the matter within quotation marks is evidently corrupt—e.g., from Wraxall, on page 33, beginning "In the King's rountenanre [*sic*], and the two from Burke, page 128, neither quite accurate and one involving an error in a matter of peerage which would have irritated Burke. The careful proofreading to be expected in a work from a university press should have eliminated some of these errors in quotations and some of the others, too numerous, elsewhere. The most useful part of the book is the exemplification of techniques of persuasion from selected speeches. They are analyzed, and their effects estimated from primary and secondary evidence. Personalities, moral and even physical, can hardly be developed in compass so brief. Fox remains to the end, "a French dandy" in dress, with no picture of the later man in buff-and-blue, or the unbathed sloven. He is characterized as "Dishevelled Advocate" and "Debater" par excellence. Burke is "Genius on Fire," Sheridan is "Player off Stage." Pitt is "Genius on Ice," and "Artisan" in method, his great responsibility and achievement understated. Appendix I summarizes, in parallel columns, the lives of the four, a useful device to restore chronological unity (but, be it said, Pitt's mother was not countess of Temple). Despite sensible precepts set forth in Appendix II, "Bibliographical Note," the printed list of works needs critical classification, and the inclusion of several titles such as Cobban's *Burke*. There is no index. WARNER F. WOODRING

HISTOIRE DU CANADA. By Marcel Giraud. ["Que sais-je?" no. 232.] (Paris, Presses universitaires de France, 1946, pp. 134.) On the whole this is a very good piece of



popularization and condensation, though in places it is overburdened with names. M. Giraud places greatest stress upon the nineteenth century period up to Confederation. This he regards as the vital formative time in Canada's development. Curiously enough, since the author is French, the role of the French Canadians in Canadian history is rather minimized, especially in the nineteenth century, though too much emphasis is given to the Riel Rebellion and the Manitoba School question. The treatment of the period after Confederation, notably the twentieth century, is unfortunately sketchy. In view of the rapid rise of Canada, and of the many significant changes that have taken place in its life during that time this is greatly to be regretted. Since this little book is intended as an introduction to the study of Canadian history, it is also unfortunate that no selected bibliography has been offered to guide the reader.

RICHARD M. SAUNDERS

JOHN KERR. By *Constance Kerr Sissons*. (New York, Oxford University Press, 1947, pp. ix, 282, \$3.00.) John Kerr, an Ontario lad of nineteen in search of adventure, enlisted as a soldier in the Wolseley expedition, which the Canadian government sent to Fort Garry in 1870 to make sure that the rebel Riel would no longer block the transfer of the West from the old Hudson's Bay Company to the new Dominion. After a year's military service, Kerr joined the Manitoba Constabulary, which preceded the famous Mounted Police. But he was soon attracted by the wilder life of the great plains beyond. He then became the only white man in a large party of métis who, under the captainship of Gabriel Dumont, the later rebel of 1885, lived by the buffalo hunt. Returning to civilization in Winnipeg, young Kerr was sworn in as a special constable, in which capacity he arrested Lépine, Riel's colleague in the rising of 1869-1870. Turning trader, Kerr wandered out as far as the Rockies, gathering pelts and additional exciting experiences. He was also employed as a government interpreter in the negotiation of the Indian treaties of 1876. That job done, he became domesticated, with the wife he had married a few months before during a hasty trip to his birthplace. Over the remaining years of his long life, which lasted until 1940, the author skips swiftly. This book is therefore almost entirely an account of Kerr's many adventures in the Canadian West from 1870 to 1876. It is a vivid tale, told mostly in his own words, of this part of the Dominion before it was tamed, and as such it will be of special interest to all students of western Canadian history. Its most valuable contribution is the clear picture it gives of Gabriel Dumont, for whom Kerr had a great admiration not shared by many Canadians who have written about this picturesque half-breed without having known him. Kerr's estimate of the rather enigmatic Indian chief, Big Bear, should be compared with the more sympathetic one of W. B. Cameron, the only white man to survive the Frog Lake Massacre of 1885. A. L. BURT

THE DEVELOPMENT OF THE THEORY AND PRACTICE OF EDUCATION IN NEW BRUNSWICK, 1784-1900: A STUDY IN HISTORICAL BACKGROUND. By *Katherine F. C. MacNaughton*. Edited with an Introduction by *Alfred G. Bailey*, Dean of Arts and Professor of History in the University of New Brunswick. Foreword by *Milton F. Gregg*, President of the University of New Brunswick. [University of New Brunswick Historical Studies, No. 1.] (Fredericton, the University, 1947, pp. (xvi), 268.) This volume deserves a word of hearty commendation. It is an excellent, almost a model, study of its kind. And the astonishing thing is that the author in her preface speaks of it as a master's thesis. If Professor Alfred G. Bailey who set the topic and sponsored the study has any more students and theses of this quality, he can export them as a good neighbor gesture to raise the level of similar studies for the doctor's degree in the United States. This volume initiates a series of historical studies to be

issued by the University of New Brunswick. The next two numbers, now in preparation, will deal with higher education for the period 1784 to 1900 and social and intellectual attitudes as revealed in the literature of New Brunswick.

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## FRANCE

*Beatrice F. Hyslop*

THE COURT OF THE CONNETABLIE: A STUDY OF A FRENCH ADMINISTRATIVE TRIBUNAL DURING THE REIGN OF HENRY IV. By *John Hewitt Mitchell*, Instructor in History in Wellesley College. [Yale Historical Publications, Miscellany, XLVII.] (New Haven, Yale University Press, 1947, pp. viii, 166, \$3.00.) The Court of the Connétable et Maréchaussée de France was originally the product of the fifteenth century merger of two older military jurisdictions. During the sixteenth century it gradually lost its military character and by the beginning of the seventeenth century it had become primarily an administrative tribunal. The history of this institution thus admirably epitomizes certain aspects of the transition from the feudal to the administrative monarchy. Of the volumes of records of this court preserved in the Archives Nationales in Paris, Mr. Mitchell has carefully gone through those which relate to the reign of Henry IV. He has purposely limited himself to these sources in order to describe more clearly the actual functioning of the court as distinct from the ideas of contemporary theorists on what the court was or ought to be. On the basis of his study of these records, many of which are of a highly technical nature, Mr. Mitchell is able to describe in some detail the nature of the administrative jurisdiction exercised by the court over the police force, the procedure of the court which more and more approximated that of the ordinary courts, and the type of personnel serving as officers of the court now no longer military and feudal but professionally trained lawyers. Twelve appendixes provide material from the records to illustrate the text. The question of perhaps most general interest raised by Mr. Mitchell's book concerns the nature of the process of recovery in France after forty years of civil war. How much was this recovery due to government action and how much to forces beyond the government's control? Mr. Mitchell finds that in spite of the disintegration which undoubtedly appeared in all departments of the administration during the wars of religion, there was a vitality in such institutions as the Connétable which appeared in persistent local efforts to maintain the authority of the court, and there was also a popular disposition to respect and have recourse to the traditional organs of administrative order. These attitudes, manifesting themselves from below, coincided with the efforts of Henry IV and his ministers from above to make possible the remarkable recuperation of France in so short a space of time.

MYRON P. GILMORE

LES FRONTIERES DE LA FRANCE. Par *Roger Dion*, Professeur à la Sorbonne. (Paris, Hachette, 1947, pp. 112, 120 fr.) This stimulating study is concerned especially with the origins and problems of the ethnic and linguistic frontiers of France. It deals also with the Rhine question and the *forêt Charbonnière* and contains some rather interesting observations. The chief aim of the volume, however, is to show how the frontiers of the French state were established. In tracing the evolution of the French boundaries the author goes back to ancient Gaul, emphasizes the division at Verdun (843), and examines the question of natural frontiers and arbitrary frontiers, such as those created by war. In this connection, he shows how the purely arbitrary frontier established as a result of the Treaty of Utrecht (1713) helped to make possible the discovery of the French "coal basin of the north." The author concludes his study by stating his belief that modern frontiers are being influenced by ideological conflicts as well as by economic rivalries. Professor Dion seems to be a *Lablachiste*, but not a dyed-in-the-wool one. He differs from Vidal de la Blache somewhat in interpreting the division of Verdun (843) as designed on the basis of cultural, ethnic, and agricultural realities. But in his discussions of frontiers during modern times, he makes no men-

tion of Vidal de la Blache's basic theory of urban "nodalities" which the latter asserts as the determining factor of truly natural boundaries. To the reviewer, the most acute observation the author makes is that regarding the establishment of frontiers which were fundamentally "unnatural" and chosen for military advantages, but which through the long agency of political organization have become real bases of ethnic, cultural, and economic differences without making for peaceful relationships among such differences. He is correct when he states that "the best frontier, in fact, is not necessarily that which expresses most exactly geographic realities, but, in every case, is that which contributes the most to the establishment and maintenance of peace between the neighbors which it separates" (p. 98). This scholarly monograph seems to be based on a thorough study of the pertinent literature on the subject. It is well documented, possesses excellent illustrations and maps, and contains a geographical and a bibliographical index.

FRANKLIN C. PALM

SOUS LA TERREUR. Par *Jules Mazé*. (Paris, Hachette, 1947, pp. 255, 165 fr.) The first chapter of this book is appropriately called "Le prologue du drame" because the pages that follow are written in language so dramatic that the reader can close his eyes and see rivers of blood. Chapters about the September Massacres, the Convention, the Reign of Terror, and the Revolutionary Tribunal are followed by three entitled "Marat et le roman de Simonne Evrard," "Les Prisons de la Terreur," and "Des noyades de Nantes aux danses macabres d'Arras." The last chapter, "Le crépuscule," contains swift sketches of the lives of some members of the Convention who lived through the Terror: Barère, Sieyès, Drouet, Thuriot, David, Billaud-Varennes, Maignet, Tallien. These men, states the author, "*avaient le droit de se pencher sur leur passé, ces hommes qui avaient résisté à l'Europe entière, tenu ses armées en échec et donné la liberté à leur pays.*" This is high praise for the survivors of the Convention. Never, apparently, did France owe so much to so few. M. Mazé has written eighteen books. About this one there are questions too numerous to mention. Have any historians of consequence been "*tentés de confondre avec la foule parisienne ces hordes révolutionnaires qui parcouraient les rues en chantant la Carmagnole ou le Ça ira, injuriant les condamnés, dansaient devant la guillotine*"? Some events in the "*sanglantes saturnales*" of 1792 are described from notes taken by a witness "*qui furent retrouvées, plus tard, dans une liasse de vieux papiers.*" There were other witnesses to other things. Were they all "independent and not self-deceived" men like those the historians always seek? Many short paragraphs, spliced with dialogue, leave the reader wary. Was Robespierre tortured before his execution? Why is it considered necessary to repeat a conversation with a caretaker about 1925 to establish the location of Fouquier-Tinville's apartment? Or to relate, even in a footnote, that a lock of hair from the head of a princess of the eighteenth century was in 1931 "*aussi brillants qu'ils avaient été coupés la veille.*" The publishers state that "*Lenotre eût aimé ces pages.*" It may be so, but not because Lenotre was a historian.

GOLDWIN SMITH

LA VIE QUOTIDIENNE EN FRANCE DE 1870 A 1900. Par *Robert Burnand*. (Paris, Hachette, 1947, pp. 306, 200 fr.) This is a charming and detailed account of the minutiae of life during the early years of the Third Republic. Typical chapters are those dealing with manners and customs, town and country, travel and the outdoors, street scenes, and pleasures of the mind and body. The author, an archivist who experienced those years himself, draws in part upon his own memories. He would agree with Talleyrand about *la douceur de vivre* in a vanished society. Except for a slender concluding chapter, the book portrays almost exclusively the life of the middle and upper classes. There is an occasional tendency to minimize differences among French-

men. It is questionable whether all Frenchmen were proud of the Russian alliance, and whether none in 1900 believed a general war possible. And if all military cadets after 1870 became increasingly earnest about their duties it is difficult to explain the stir caused by young Captain Lyautey's article in 1891 on *le rôle social de l'officier*. The much neglected social history of the Third Republic remains to be written, nor does the author pretend to write it. The reader of this volume will come away with a miscellany of information on such matters as the Parisian omnibus, the etiquette of the fan, and Félix Faure's sartorial experiments. On this lesser plane, M. Burnand manages to convey a good deal of the feeling and flavor of the period. He also acknowledges by occasional references the exceptional contribution to his subject made by that meticulous observer of the regnant social circles of the time, Marcel Proust.

CARL VINCENT CONFER

FRENCH LABOR FROM POPULAR FRONT TO LIBERATION. By *Henry W. Ehrmann*. (New York, Oxford University Press, 1947, pp. x, 329, \$4.00.) This book provides a detailed, dispassionate, and highly useful history of the French labor-union movement during the critical years immediately preceding the fall of France. Dr. Ehrmann bases his account on his own firsthand acquaintance with the prewar CGT and on union publications and other materials not readily available in the United States. His extensive discussion of the documentation in the notes will be very helpful to students of French labor problems and of the Popular Front. The main theme of the book is the spectacular growth of the CGT after the sit-down strikes of 1936 and its subsequent and equally spectacular decline. Dr. Ehrmann analyzes at length the stresses within the CGT, particularly the rivalry of the Communist, reformist, and pure syndicalist factions. He evaluates not only the famous forty-hour week but also more obscure and more significant factors, like the inadequacy of machinery for collective bargaining and the stringency of the labor controls introduced during the "phony" war. He discusses the activities of the principal foes of the CGT in the government administration and in the business world. The book, thus, is not simply a parochial account of the CGT. Dr. Ehrmann appraises the Catholic unions, for instance, and he demonstrates the close relationship between the fortunes of the CGT and the disintegration of the Popular Front and of the whole international order in Europe. The concluding chapters, treating developments after June, 1940, however, are sketchy and inadequate. Dr. Ehrmann has found it impossible to obtain a reliable account of the reconstruction of the labor unions in the Resistance. Consequently, he does not deal effectively with the problem of Communist control over the CGT and with some other major issues which were already confronting French labor when the Liberation occurred.

JOHN B. CHRISTOPHER

HISTOIRE DE L'ALSACE. Par *Fernand L'Huillier*, Agrégé de l'Université. ["Que sais-je?" 255.] (Paris, Presses universitaires de France, 1947, pp. 127.)

INTRODUCTION TO FRENCH NORTH AFRICA and INTRODUCTION TO FRENCH WEST AFRICA. Two lectures delivered to members of the Lend-Lease Administration's African Mission at the Mission Training School, Washington, D. C., in March, 1943. By *Lowell Ragatz*, Professor of European History in the George Washington University. (Washington, Paul Pearlman, pp. 30, 15, 50 cents each.)

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## GERMANY, AUSTRIA, AND SWITZERLAND

Ernst Posner

- FACTORS IN GERMAN HISTORY. By G. Barraclough. (Oxford, Basil Blackwell, 1947? pp. 176, 8s. 6d.) "This book contains the Post-Reformation section of Professor Barraclough's larger work *The Origins of Modern Germany* [see *Am. Hist. Rev.*, July, 1947, p. 788] with two new introductory chapters summarizing the history of Germany from A.D. 800 to 1500."
- NUREMBERG DIARY. By G. M. Gilbert. (New York, Farrar, Straus, 1947, pp. 471, \$5.00.) For the historian the Nuremberg trials are a unique phenomenon. Although special courts have been set up in the past to judge political crimes before extraor-

inary authority, no such court has ever been so universally recognized. Captain G. M. Gilbert, a military intelligence officer with the 20th Armored Division who was deeply interested in the psychological aspects of Nazism, was assigned as prison psychologist at the Nuremberg trials. It was a most fortunate choice, for Dr. Gilbert has a deep respect for the meaning of history and for historical documentation. At Nuremberg he checked the I.Q. of the Nazi overlords, listened patiently to their excuses and explanations in their cells, observed their threats, curses, taunts, and doublecrosses common to Nazism, noted their personal disintegration, and collected a mass of inside information on the leaders and prophets of the Third Reich. All this he carefully recorded in his diary, which is a valuable adjunct to the mass of trial testimony. A remarkable picture of the concluding spectacle of World War II, it makes absorbing reading. One can only wonder at the personal worthlessness of these parasites who led the German people to ruin and degradation. With the exception of Goering, who maintained a show of loyalty to the end, the accused at Nuremberg blamed it all on Hitler the madman. In the silence of their cells, the top Nazis, grasping at any straw to save their lives, confessed their bewilderment or confusion to the American captain. Goering, who knew that he had no chance of escape, decided with an eye on history to die a martyr, but in the meantime he persistently retained the old familiar air of grandiose strutting and exhibited a joviality that he did not in reality feel. Ribbentrop, depressed, frightened, and evasive, who in 1939 had claimed in writing sole credit for every "achievement" of Hitler's foreign policy, now protested that he had never been more than a rubber stamp. "The sheer, bare-faced hypocrisy of this man is incredible," says Dr. Gilbert. The other portraits are full drawn: Hess in a fog of amnesia; the worried youth leader Baldur von Schirach aging rapidly and showing signs of remorse; the financier Schacht accentuating an air of hurt innocence; Julius Streicher still lewd, perverse, and defiant; Frank, the butcher of Poland, seeking refuge in religion to soften the blow to his ego; and the military and naval leaders, Jodl, Keitel, Raeder, and Doenitz, doing a bad job of pretending a military and naval aloofness. This parade of human weakness is a devastating commentary on the German genius for propelling midgets into the seats of the mighty. LOUIS L. SNYDER

FINAL JUDGMENT: THE STORY OF NUREMBERG. By *Victor H. Bernstein*. With an Introduction by Max Lerner. (New York, Boni and Gaer, 1947, pp. xii, 289, \$3.50.) This is a well-written account of the Nuremberg trial by a correspondent of the New York newspaper *PM*. The book does not attempt to evaluate the trial. It does not deal with its legal basis, its significance for international law, its impact upon the German people. It rather brings out and highlights the salient factors of Nazi policy as they appeared during the trial. These factors are organized under three headings: "Not Peace but the World" comprises the Nazi preparations for the seizure of power, the ascendancy of the Nazis, the preparation for war and the conquest of Austria. Part Two: "Aggression," traces the aggressive deeds of World War II; and the third chapter "Todesraum" (death space) deals with what the Nuremberg agreement and judgment call "crimes against humanity." For popular dissemination, the book has great merits because the author succeeds in presenting in an extremely dramatic form the essence of Nazi policy. For the scholar, there are, however, quite serious criticisms to raise. True, in an appendix, the author lists some hundred documents. But they are not referred to in the text so that it is quite impossible—unless one possesses an extremely intimate knowledge—to check the quotations. Secondly, and far more serious, are historical statements which apart from being irrelevant, appear utterly untenable or inadequately proven. There is first the assertion that the victorious Allies never gave the German revolution a chance so that, instead of Liebknecht and Luxemburg,

Ebert won the day. There is but little proof of active Allied intervention against Spartacus. This was totally unnecessary since the revolution of 1918 had neither a basis in the masses nor a revolutionary vanguard. It is possible and perhaps likely that Allied intervention might have occurred if the revolution of 1918 had developed toward communism. The second statement pertains to the Nazi-USSR nonaggression pact. The author defends it and his defense is familiar. A good case can be made for it. But if so, it is the duty of the objective historian to point out that the USSR went far beyond the establishment of "at least a minimum of friendly relations with Germany." Indeed the Communist parties denounced the war as an imperialist one and fighters against Nazism in Germany were denounced by Communists to the Gestapo.

FRANZ L. NEUMANN

I.G. FARBEN. By *Richard Sasuly*. (New York, Boni and Gaer, 1947, pp. x, 312, \$3.00.)

Richard Sasuly was a member of the finance division of the Allied Control Council in Germany and in this position participated in an investigation of I.G. Farben. What he has written is not, as might be inferred from the title, a business history of a great cartel, and only incidentally is it a history of I.G. Farben at all. It is rather an indictment of Germany for its warmongering and warmaking and of I.G. Farben for its all too willing collaboration in such undertakings. It contains a bitter condemnation of I.G.'s "foreign alliances," especially the American ones which, it is claimed, worked to the disadvantage of this nation. It ends with severe charges against the American military government of Germany for not destroying the chemical colossus.

SHEPARD B. CLOUGH

THE SWISS CONTRIBUTION TO WESTERN CIVILISATION. By *Raphael E. G.*

*Armattoe*. With a Foreword by Professor Julian S. Huxley. (Dundalk, England, Dundalgan Press; New York, G. E. Stechert, 1944, pp. 91, \$1.80.) Switzerland is a very small country, with a territory of only 15,944 square miles, one quarter of which is unfit for cultivation, unfit even for human habitation. Its population of 4.2 million speaks four languages and a variety of dialects. It has no coal to speak of, no iron, no access to the sea, no colonies and is thus decidedly what used to be called before the war a "have-not" nation. But in spite of these handicaps, or perhaps thanks to the difficulties the country had to struggle with at all times, it was able to develop a flourishing trade, an industry of high quality, a high material and cultural standard of living, and one of the freest democracies in the world. The author has set himself the difficult task of giving in a short pamphlet a cross section of the Swiss contribution to Western civilization, and such an attempt can obviously hardly give much more than a list of names. It includes Swiss who distinguished themselves in the country and others who found fame abroad, and also lists foreigners who found asylum or obtained posts in Switzerland. It is obvious that every reader familiar with the subject will miss some names and, on the other hand, that some foreigners have been included whose relation with Switzerland was a rather loose one. But the achievements listed present an impressive picture and the pamphlet will be found useful for a rapid orientation on the subject.

HENRY E. SIGERIST

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## RUSSIA AND SLAVIC EUROPE

*Sergius Yakobson*

DEJINY VÝCHODNÍCH SLOVANU. By *Josef Macurek*. Three volumes. (Prague, Melantrich, 1947, pp. 284, 214, 210, 80 Kč., 65 Kč., 55 Kč.) An interpretation of the history of the eastern Slavs from a pan-Slavic point of view. Scholarly and useful in spite of its ideological limitations. Good bibliography.

RUSSIA: A SHORT HISTORY. By *Helen Gay Pratt* and *Harriet L. Moore*. Issued under the auspices of American Council, Institute of Pacific Relations. (New York, John Day, 1947, pp. 282, \$3.00.) Miss Moore's revision and expansion of Miss Pratt's ten-year-old book exaggerates the Soviet period and minimizes tsarist Russia. Interesting, generally well written with flashes of brilliance, unusual in the use of illustrative quotations and in its emphasis upon the peasants, the book does not qualify even as a short history of Russia. Less than one hundred pages are given to the whole Russian story from the ninth century through the Bolshevik Revolution. The condensation skillfully avoids most errors of compression, but the choice of material is not always happy. The authors find space, for example, to name Lady Mary Hastings, the Webbs, John Graves, and Joseph E. Davies; but the reader will nowhere find mention of Witte, Stolypin, Miliukov, or even Rasputin. Five well-written pages are devoted to the Mongols, but the Zemstvos and the Duma get only one paragraph each and all the story of Russian expansion from 1733 to 1900 is compressed into a single page. The authors' attitudes towards the Soviets are sympathetic but not wholly uncritical. The lack of political liberty and individual freedoms are faced quite frankly, but many other facts are glossed over. The famine of the thirties gets scant attention and no one would guess at the existence of a labor draft from the statement that "... now young men and women find their jobs before they leave school" (p. 203). The account of the "Supreme Council" does not make clear the rubber-stamp nature of that body. The thickest whitewash is applied in the account of foreign relations which unfailingly presents the USSR in a very favorable light. Some readers will find it difficult to accept the authors' statement that "... [the Soviets] won the war largely by their own strength" (p. 249); or the remark of Zaslavsky, quoted with apparent approval, that "We do not seek to force others to accept the Soviet style of arranging their home" (p. 260). Finally, it is unfortunate that the suggested bibliography, with a few notable exceptions, lists only works which are notoriously partial toward the Soviets.

WARREN B. WALSH

ISTORIIA NA RUSIIA OT NACHALO NA XIX VEK DO VTORATA REVOLIUTSIIA (1917 GOD): VUTRESHNA POLITIKA I OBSHCHESTVENI DVI-ZHENIIA [history of Russia from the beginning of the 19th century to the second revolution (1917): internal policies and social movements]. By *P. Bizilli*. (Sofia, Universitetska Biblioteka, no. 342, 1947, pp. 161.) The author of this book, now professor of modern history in the University of Sofia, began his academic career in Russia. His first research study dealt with the Renaissance period; and, in addition to further studies in social and political history, he has done much work in Russian literary history and criticism. His approach to modern Russian history has thus been determined by these two earlier interests: he interprets the main social and political trends in Russia's development from a broad historical point of view, and he is particularly interested in Russian intellectual movements, both political and literary. The main peculiarity of Russian historical development, lies, he believes, in the merging of the problem of social equality with that of political emancipation. The struggle



between "government" and "society," which in France ended in 1789, continued in Russia to 1905 and even then, until 1917, the old absolutism was not entirely eliminated. The book is divided in two parts, the first, really an introduction, dealing with "Russia in the Eighteenth Century," and the second, "The Modern Age," covering chronologically the period from 1801 to 1917. The last chapter occupies about half the book, and, of the preceding chapters, that dealing with Alexander II's reign is the longest. Much attention is paid to the literary salons and intellectual circles, including the Westernizers and Slavophiles, and to the growth of revolutionary ideas. The economic aspects are somewhat neglected. Taken as a whole, however, the book presents an intelligent and sympathetic account of Russian intellectual and political history.

G. VERNADSKY

ALEXANDER I OF RUSSIA: THE MAN WHO DEFEATED NAPOLEON. By *Leonid I. Strakhovsky*. (New York, W. W. Norton, 1947, pp. 302, \$3.50.) This is a book which attempts to develop two points of view with regard to the life and times of Alexander I of Russia: the secular or materialistic, describing his conduct in the world of men and affairs; and the spiritual, concerned mainly with the development of Alexander's religious experience and character from the time of his reluctant but tacit participation in the murder of his father, the emperor Paul, to the "renunciation" of his throne on the occasion of his dramatic arrangement for his own "death" in order to live on in the person of one Fyodor Kuzmich, hermit, in remote Siberia. It is the second of these themes, which is both implicitly and directly developed in the course of Dr. Strakhovsky's book. The spiritual struggle involved in such a choice and the difficulties of arranging a plausible exit from this life's travail are well described by the author, who writes smoothly and effortlessly and manages to create an atmosphere of suspense worthy of a good piece of fiction. On the other hand, the readers of this new biography will find no psychological analysis of the subject's dilemma but rather a conventional explanation stemming from Alexander's remorse of conscience over one of the key episodes of his young life. Nor is it a straight historical account but rather a series of brilliantly painted but overlapping portraits, so integrated as to give a good picture of Alexander's character in close concordance with the events and persons of his time. The Alexander that emerges is a person of humility, but more than a match for the arrogant Napoleon. Bowed by responsibility, eager for reform, he is never quite ready to undertake its prosecution. Possessed of some firmness of character and aim, he is at the same time subject to influence by the persons who came in contact with him in the course of his official life, whether the scheming Count Pahlen or the mystic, Prince Golitsin, or Madame de Krüdener, all of whom appear in Dr. Strakhovsky's book in their proper colors. The theme of Alexander's decision to renounce his throne to become a simple monk is not new, nor is it described for the first time in English. But while Dr. Strakhovsky indicates his own conclusions on this matter, he is scrupulously careful to cite the historiographic difficulties in the path of the investigator. Unlike such accounts as, for instance, that of Francis Gribble, he treats this problem with the seriousness and detachment which it deserves. At any rate, the student of human nature and history must await the possible new evidence contained in the papers of the Cathcart family, as yet unopened. While the average reader will be gratified by the numerous quotations from sources in the book, the scholar may feel frustrated by the absence of page references which might assist him in tracking down useful material. There is a serviceable bibliography.

GEORGE WASKOVICH

VTORAIA GOSUDARSTVENNAIA DUMA (VOSPOMINANIIA SOVREMENNIKA)  
[the Second State Duma (memoirs of a contemporary)]. By *V. A. Maklakov*. (Paris,



Editions et Librairie "La Renaissance," 1946, pp. 260.) In his memoirs of the Second Duma V. A. Maklakov, jurist, publicist, and right-wing Kadet leader, reiterates a major theme in his postrevolutionary writings. In essence he holds that the liberal opposition to the tsar's government in the Duma period is largely to blame for the failure of the constitutional experiment in Russia because of its refusal to come to terms with Stolypin's government of "legal order" and its inclination to vote with the revolutionary left rather than form a working majority with rightist elements. But a close study of Kadet tactics in the Second Duma raises the question as to whether Mr. Maklakov has fairly appraised Kadet policy, its possibilities and implications. Kadet tactics in the Second Duma were aimed primarily at preserving and strengthening Russia's new parliamentary institutions. The Kadets aimed, therefore, to support a practical reform program which they hoped would not arouse the opposition of the government and, at the same time, would increase the Duma's prestige and enhance its reputation among the people. Within the Duma they would unite with any group, rightist or leftist, which was willing to support such a program. In accordance with these basic tactics they opposed efforts by the extreme, and, at times, moderate left to utilize the Duma as a platform for revolutionary agitation. And by the same token they refused to countenance provocative demands by the extreme right which aimed primarily to prove that the Duma was revolutionary and therefore dangerous to the regime—in complete accordance with published programs of rightist groups. The great majority in the Kadet party was not convinced, as was Mr. Maklakov, that Stolypin's government was one of "legal order"—that it usually acted within the letter and spirit of the constitution. There is a plenitude of evidence from the period that the bureaucracy, both high and low, did not easily adapt itself to the constitutional regime. By direct political pressure and by trickery it tried to influence the outcome of the election campaign, and its method of changing the electoral law on June 3, 1907, was flagrantly unconstitutional. Nor did the government show any marked respect for the spirit of the constitution in introducing such vital measures as the land reform bill under emergency article No. 87, and by forbidding experts to testify before committees in the Duma. The government would no more bury its mistrust of the Duma than its mistrust of old public organizations like the Zemstvos. Under these circumstances, the Kadets could not afford to undermine their position of leadership in the liberation movement and abandon their program for wider reform by supporting all government measures and refraining from criticism of its policy and tactics. They could not stand by silently while public order and morality were being undermined by clandestine support of rightist terrorists, provocateurs, and various states of siege.

ALFRED LEVIN

DIPLOMATICHESKAIA BOR'BA V GODY PERVOI MIROVOI VOINY [the diplomatic struggle during the First World War]. Volume I. By *F. I. Notovich*. (Moscow, Izdatel'stvo Akademii Nauk SSSR, 1947, pp. 748, 34 r.) This study, prepared under supervision of Professor Tarle, will eventually consist of four volumes, of which the first covers the first year of World War I. The central theme of the volume is "the inconsistencies and contradictions in Russian, British, and French diplomatic behavior which led to the loss of the Balkan peninsula by the Entente in 1915." This diplomatic debacle was—according to the author—of first-rate importance, as it was largely responsible for the deterioration of Russia's international position and for the prolongation of the war.

THE STORY OF THE UKRAINE. By *Clarence A. Manning*, Assistant Professor of East European Languages, Columbia University. (New York, Philosophical Library,

1947, pp. 326, \$3.75.) In his introduction, penned with all the fire of political pamphleteering, the author states, "If in the future Ukraine does not receive its just dues, if the Ukrainians fail to win the benefits of the Four Freedoms, it will be only because history has reversed itself and mankind in the midst of unparalleled scientific development has lost its hopes, its aspirations, and its power of moral advancement." The first eleven chapters are given to the history of the Ukraine from the days of the Kievan Rus' to the nineteenth century. The author's viewpoint may be illustrated by a quotation from a publication of the Polish National Committee during World War I: "In very deed, Russia stripped Ukraine of everything; she even appropriated its very name of 'Rus' (Ruthenia), she annexed its history of pre-Tatar times, she declared the language was a Russian dialect." This, the author says, "is a clear statement of conditions." The part of the book beginning with chapter xii discusses the reawakening of the national spirit, events connected with the Russian Revolution, and the brief lives of political bodies which came into being after 1917. In the chapter on the Ukrainian Soviet republic the author comments on the establishment of new industrial plants: "The majority of the workmen in these factories were brought in from other parts of the Union and the Soviets carried out a definite policy of transportation of population in order to crush once and for all the growth of a national or even a local spirit in any of the subsidiary republics." The book was written from the Ukrainian nationalist point of view and is a very effective presentation of it. There are some exaggerations, e.g., the statement on page 106: "It is not too much to say that every scholar or literary man of Moscow during the eighteenth century was of Ukrainian origin or had been largely trained in the Academy of Kiev." Admittedly, Moscow was then to the educated Ukrainian something like what Dr. Johnson thought London was to the Scot of his time. Nevertheless, Ukrainians were merely one of the several elements which made up the Muscovite educated society in the eighteenth century. The volume is well written and reads with the ease of a novel. The apparatus of notes is absent, and the bibliography consists of eleven titles. D. FEDOTOFF WHITE

POLAND IN THE BRITISH PARLIAMENT, 1939-1945. Volume I, BRITISH GUARANTEES TO POLAND TO THE ATLANTIC CHARTER (MARCH 1939-AUGUST 1941). Compiled and edited by *Wacław Jędrzejewicz*, Director, Józef Piłsudski Institute of America. With the assistance of Pauline C. Ramsey. [Document Series No. 1.] (New York, Józef Piłsudski Institute of America, 1946, pp. xxix, 495, \$5.00, \$4.25 to libraries.)

O STÁTE ČESKÉM. By *Pavel Stránský*. (Prague, Sfinx, 1946, pp. 328, 115 Kč.) This small encyclopedic handbook offers valuable information on the history, the various aspects of the governmental organization, and the leaders of the Czech state.

TISÍČILETOU STOPOU ČESKOSLOVENSKÉHO LIDU. By *Miloš V. Kratochvíl*. (Prague, Bohumil Janda, 1947, pp. 396, 285 Kč.) A new attempt to rewrite the social history of the Czechoslovak people based on source material which has only recently come to light. Includes valuable maps.

ZAHRAŇIČNÍ NÁBOŽENSKÁ PROPAGANDA V ČECHÁCH V PŘEDVEČER REVOLUCE 1848. By *Václav Žáček*. (Prague, Česká akademie věd a umění, 1945, pp. 62.) An interesting contribution to a so far neglected field: foreign religious (especially German Catholic) propaganda in Bohemia on the eve of the 1848 revolution.

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## Near Eastern and Indian History

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## Far Eastern History

E. H. Pritchard

THE HISTORY OF JAPAN. By *Kenneth Scott Latourette*, D. Willis James Professor of Missions and Oriental History and Fellow of Berkeley College in Yale University. (New York, Macmillan, 1947, pp. vi, 290, \$4.00.) A set of illustrations and charts, along with forty added pages on the China and Pacific wars, constitute the chief new features in this comprehensive revision of Professor Latourette's useful summary of Japanese history, formerly entitled *The Development of Japan*. The sound proportions of the old volume, allotting major space to modern Japan since the advent of Commodore Perry, are retained and the whole is not substantially enlarged. Nearly every page bears the mark of some rewriting and improvement. Mainly through elimination of certain detailed passages on China's civilization, the early chapters have been considerably shortened and made swifter moving and more coherent. The difficult task of condensing the recent era of Far Eastern conflict is admirably handled, while the concluding pages briefly summarize Japan under the occupation. A few changes in emphasis and selection might be suggested. From the background chapters the reader will gain but little knowledge of the grinding misery and oppression of the Japanese peasantry or of the arrogant overlordship of the feudal militarists and nobles. Our data on the brutal suppression of widespread and stubborn peasant revolts under the Tokugawas are already considerable and are steadily being augmented, yet of this era the author writes that "the state encouraged agriculture" and "there was but little poverty." The choice and placing of some of the illustrations could also be improved. Thus for the Fujiwara era, one of the unsurpassed Nara structures showing the influence of Chinese architecture would be more appropriate than a Nikko temple. These are matters of detail, however, and it may be expected that this study will continue its past valuable service in introducing American students to the development of Japan's civilization.

T. A. Bisson

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## United States History

E. C. Burnett

### GENERAL

THE FIRST CENTURY OF THE JOHN CARTER BROWN LIBRARY: A HISTORY WITH A GUIDE TO THE COLLECTIONS. By *Lawrence C. Wroth*. (Providence, Associates of the John Carter Brown Library, 1946, pp. vi, 88, \$5.00.) Since the publication of Justin Winsor's *Narrative and Critical History of America* (Boston, 1889) students of American history have known in a general way that the John Carter Brown Library at Providence is a treasure house of original editions of books, pamphlets, prints, and maps printed in 1800 or earlier, relating to the history of the Western Hemisphere, but only a few have been familiar with the extent of its less conspicuous holdings and the facilities it offers for research. Specialists in Americana look forward each fall to reading Mr. Wroth's annual report as librarian, with its succession of bril-

liant short essays on the most noteworthy of the accessions of the past year, but these annual reports, fascinating as they are to read, bring out only incidentally the extent to which the library covers the field of American history to the end of the eighteenth century. A few years ago Mr. Wroth's *Source Materials of Florida History in the John Carter Brown Library* . . . (*Florida Historical Quarterly*, XX, July, 1941) made generally known the wealth of material in the John Carter Brown Library on the history to 1800 of the southeastern part of the United States. Now for the first time, in Part II of the book under review, "An Analysis of the Collections," there is a comprehensive statement under twenty-three heads, of which the Florida section is only one, of the various collections of the library. Part I of Mr. Wroth's account is entitled "A Brief History of the Library" and Part III, "The Work of the Library." The short "History" is good reading for anyone interested in the beginnings and growth of a library now probably superior to any other in material relating to America printed before 1801. Here reproduced is the first invoice rendered John Carter Brown by Henry Stevens, the Yale graduate who became the famous London bookseller. It is dated London, March 3, 1846, and lists three Columbus letters printed in 1493 at a total, for the three, of 38 pounds! Part III, "The Work of the Library," describes its various catalogues and other tools for research. One of the most useful of these is a catalogue of every book in the library arranged by year of publication. This chronological conspectus is an invaluable aid to the study of any period. Mr. Wroth's book is almost indispensable to any student of American history for the period ending with the year 1800.

THOMAS W. STREETER

DANIEL COIT GILMAN: CREATOR OF THE AMERICAN TYPE OF UNIVERSITY. By *Abraham Flexner*. (New York, Harcourt, Brace, 1946, pp. ix, 173, \$2.00.) That Gilman was the leader in developing American graduate instruction after European models is a commonplace, but few realize how remarkable he was as a man and as thinker and administrator in education. He was a radical whose views and policies were built on careful study of evolving educational needs in relation to an era of rapid social and cultural change; an idealist who took practical account of time, place, and men. He utilized European ideas and practice in relation to American conditions and needs: "This is the University of California; it is not the University of Berlin or of New Haven; it must be adapted to this people," to their schools, geographical position, society, and resources, and should even keep in mind the trans-Pacific neighbors. He had all that was sound of the "functional approach" now so much lauded by our curriculum reformers but without their too-frequent shallowness and confusion. His wide interests included not only graduate and medical education but elementary and secondary schools, the education of teachers, science and technology, and the undergraduate college for which, in those days of heated controversy over election or prescription of courses, he set up the group system at Johns Hopkins. He was a pioneer in ideas and plans for university "Extension" that have not yet been fully and adequately applied. With a sure sense of comparative values he saw that the matter of supreme importance for the new Johns Hopkins University would be the quality of his faculty and from the day he took charge, without a plant, in the late seventies, he began to assemble that amazing group of brilliant men who attracted to Baltimore so large a proportion of the young men who were soon to achieve eminence in American and world scholarship. The only extended biography of this extraordinary man, by Fabian Franklin, Hopkins professor of mathematics and brilliant essayist, appeared in 1910. It is a competent and valuable study but not definitive, for viewpoints and methods have changed and there are manuscripts and other sources awaiting exploitation. *A History of the University Founded by Johns Hopkins* (1946)

by Professor John C. French assembles a mass of valuable though undocumented information. No general history in terms of social and cultural change, no biography utilizing today's resources and perspective, has yet appeared. Dr. Abraham Flexner—Johns Hopkins A.B. of 1886, author of books on university and medical education in Europe and America that have had immense influence, able student and thinker—has important qualifications for preparing either the biography or the history, but he has chosen in this small book to set himself a limited objective. "My interest at this time is in Gilman's ability, his experience, his equipment, his achievement, and his technique," and he adds the hope that postwar executives and faculty committees will "study what Gilman did and the way in which he did it." His documentation is almost entirely from secondary sources but he had access to the manuscript materials at Johns Hopkins University and has taken advantage of important personal contacts. His excellent analysis and summary are lucid, intelligent, and comprehensive. The book would be convenient and useful even if we already had a full-length study of Gilman in relation to the swiftly changing America of the last third of the nineteenth century.

J. MONTGOMERY GAMBRILL

WOODROW WILSON: SOME PRINCETON MEMORIES. Edited by *William Starr Myers*. (Princeton, Princeton University Press, 1946, pp. vi, 91, \$1.50.) What think ye of Wilson? The question remains, not eternal but enduring, through R. S. Baker, Link, and all the rest, even including a sumptuous movie. In this little book the reader may find personal recollections, concentrated on the Princeton president, but adumbrating also the world statesman whose reach exceeded his grasp. Four of the seven authors were preceptors (Root, Spaeth, Corwin, Myers) of the earliest days (1905); Harper and Eisenhart had been professors already, Conklin arrived in 1908. There is variety in the fields of expertness, three in literature, two politics, one mathematics, one biology; there is unanimity in appreciation of Wilson as "a very great man," under whose leadership all were proud to collaborate in the dedication of Princeton to the nation's service. Four points seem to this reviewer especially worthy of note. (1) Root reminds us that the preceptorial system was for "intellectual enfranchisement," and that its author was no aloof scholar or stern pedagogue but a "very gracious and charming Christian gentleman." (2) Harper as an intimate friend wistfully dwells on the "happy family." He and Wilson had early brought a trivial spat to a quick end by "brotherly gesture and reconciling words." If only that procedure could have been applied to later differences, academic with Andrew West in Princeton, political in Washington and Paris. Instead of reconciliation and compromise, opinions hardened, friendships broke, personality superseded principle. He was "too scornful of advice, too much inclined to trust his own intelligence and his own conscience." (3) Spaeth directly quotes Wilson on the function of the responsible leader, who "should keep an open mind . . . until the necessity of action makes a decision imperative." Apparently decision is final, irrevocable, unadjustable, and slams the mind shut; those who challenged what he had decided became unprincipled and willful men. (4) One of Wilson's stalwart supporters in the controversies of 1908-10 was Conklin the biologist. Deeply he must have regretted his leader's blind spot, the significance of science in education. Right and truth for Wilson were not subject to relativity: they were absolutes. He could not understand "how difficult it is to avoid error and to reach perfect truth," "that compromise and adjustment are the great laws of physical and social life."

HENRY R. SPENCER

THE LIVES OF EIGHTEEN FROM PRINCETON. Edited by *Willard Thorp*. (Princeton, Princeton University Press, 1946, pp. ix, 356, \$3.75.) This collection of

short biographies of eighteen "Representative Princetonians" is written "for sentiment's sake" by twenty other Princeton alumni and faculty members. Its object in general is to present the Princeton story through the medium of life-writing and in particular to show "what Princeton, through her graduates, has meant in the life of this country, generation after generation in the several professions, and in different regions." This task the editor and biographers have performed diligently and with affection. The complete work is attractive in appearance, and the absence of bibliographies, footnotes, and an index will not detract from its popular appeal. The value of the present volume suggests the usefulness of similar studies. Old and new friends of Princeton may question the inclusion or omission of subjects of the sketches, and they will note the balancing of well-remembered against now-forgotten Princetonians. Further inquiry will show that each one selected is of lively contemporary interest and that the sketch subjects are collectively a fair representation of the Princeton family and of their activities in the various occupations and professions. Their fame ranges from that of James Madison and Woodrow Wilson, who became Presidents of the United States, to the comparative obscurity of George Dallas, the "other Vice-President from Princeton," and Frank Blair, another Missouri statesman. The general reader will welcome the brevity of these portraits in miniature. The sketches average twenty pages each and give the essential information about Princeton's service to the nation through "her sons" during the past two hundred years, from William Paterson (1745-1806), a forerunner of John Marshall, to Scott Fitzgerald (1896-1940), "the laureate of the Jazz Age." No one is idealized by his biographer. Each life is viewed in light of time and place, and interest is enhanced by keeping the reader informed about the movement of contemporary figures. Balance and a style that is engaging characterize this collection of life stories as a happy union of literature and scholarship with history and biography.

ALBERT A. ROGERS

THE MODERN PRINCETON. By *Charles G. Osgood, et al.* (Princeton, Princeton University Press, 1947, pp. vii, 159, \$2.50.) This charming little volume on modern Princeton is written chiefly by three emeritus professors. An alumnus and a trustee add chapters. It is a tribute to the vigor of Princeton's modernity that the oldsters are its appointed exponents. Of course, they are modestly deprecatory about claims to superiority on behalf of Princeton. It just has uniqueness at some major points. One they don't mention and all would freely grant is in having a group that includes Charles Osgood, Christian Gauss, and Robert Root, no one of them a Princeton alumnus, to reveal in limpid English the strength and beauty that has bound them to Princeton.

GEORGE THOMAS WHITE PATRICK: AN AUTOBIOGRAPHY. TEACHER AND PHILOSOPHER. By *Herbert Martin*. (Iowa City, University of Iowa Press, 1947, pp. 180, \$2.00.) AMOS NOYES CURRIER. By *Luella M. Wright*. (*Ibid.*, 1947, pp. 71, \$1.00.) WILLIAM GALT RAYMOND. By *B. J. Lambert*. (*Ibid.*, 1947, pp. 52, \$1.00.) CHARLES BUNDY WILSON. By *Nellie Slayton Aurner*. (*Ibid.*, 1947, pp. 77, \$1.00.) As one way of marking its hundredth birthday the University of Iowa has projected a series of biographical studies of the "grand old men" who were makers of its name. Of the four in this group Professor Patrick most certainly deserves the latter designation. And the account of him is the best because he wrote it himself in a breezy style at the age of ninety. He checked some of the incidents with one of his former pupils, who is ninety-two. The appreciation of him as a teacher and philosopher is added by a colleague. Studies of Calvin and MacBride will be included with the above four to make Volume I. Papers on Loos, Peck, Shambaugh, and Shimek are in preparation.

Perhaps it is not presumptuous to ask what about Walter Jessup and, if the living can be included, Carl E. Seashore? In any case the project is a worthy and dignified one suited to the occasion.

THE AMERICAN INDIAN IN NORTH CAROLINA. By *Douglas L. Rights*. (Durham, Duke University Press, 1947, pp. xx, 296, \$5.00.) This volume, devoted to the study of the Indians of one state, should be placed on the shelf with studies of Indians of other states, such as those of A. L. Kroeber and Chapman Milling. The author deals with the character and manner of living of the Indians who have lived in North Carolina, listing the tribes and tracing tribal movements, presenting them according to the order in which they were discovered by the white man. The book is based on original research as well as on the records of early explorers and studies of later historians, archaeologists, and anthropologists. This reviewer feels that this is a definitive work—one that should not have to be done again. An indication of the scope of the study may be seen from noting some of the chapter headings, such as: "The Indians Meet the Spaniards," "The Indians Meet the English," "Decline of the Coastal Tribes," "The Tuscarora," "Last Chronicles of the Piedmont Tribes," "The Catawba," "The Indians of Robeson County," "The Cherokee," "Notes on Indian Life," "Archaeology," and "Indian Antiquities." Possessing a readable and interesting style, the author has rendered an invaluable service in making this scholarly work available. It will be read not alone by the student of Indian history and those interested in the history of North Carolina, but by the general reader as well. Adding much to the interest and value of this book are the 110 full-page illustrations, including a number of the John White pictures. The section containing the author's acknowledgments should prove valuable to students who may wish further to pursue a study of this topic. The index is excellent—comprehensive and helpful. The bibliographical references at the end of each chapter will prove useful, although this reviewer could wish that there were also a complete bibliography at the end of the book. *The American Indian in North Carolina* maintains the high standard which scholars have come to expect from the Duke University Press.

JAMES W. MOFFITT

THE TRAVELS OF WILLIAM BARTRAM. Edited by *Mark Van Doren*. (New York, Dover Publications, 1947, pp. 414, \$3.75.) William Bartram's *Travels through North & South Carolina, Georgia, East & West Florida* . . . was first made easily accessible to the modern reader by Mark Van Doren almost twenty years ago as one of the volumes in his reprints series, "An American Bookshelf." The *Travels* had been printed first in Philadelphia in 1791 and reprinted in London, 1792; but after the second edition of 1794 in London it was never reissued again until Mr. Van Doren performed his service in 1928. The volume deserved to be more widely known and it must have regained some of its earlier popularity, for it was reprinted from the same plates in 1940 for the Facsimile Library with an introduction by John Livingston Lowes, and now it appears once more with the editor's note which Mr. Van Doren wrote in 1928. The text is given without abridgment. Bartram was on the move almost continuously during his travels from the Carolinas to the lower Mississippi from 1773 until the end of 1777. Although the chief purpose of his journeys was botanical, to collect specimens and make drawings for Dr. Fothergill, who aided him financially, Bartram's keen observations of all natural phenomena produced an invaluable record of our southeastern wilderness before it was spoiled by the white man. His book is notable for its portrayals of Indian life and no less fascinating for its vivid descriptions of alligators and crocodiles. Seldom do historians and natural scientists find such an opportunity to revel mutually in the same book. Now that these *Travels*



are generally available in a "popular" edition (though not at a price in accord with the inferior typography and cheap paper), there is still need for a fine edition representing bookmaking of high quality, worthy of this American classic, with reproductions from the collection of Bartram's drawings.

LESTER J. CAPPON

GEORGE WASHINGTON: VATER EINER NEUEN NATION. By *Werner Richter*. (Zurich, Eugen Rentsch, 1947, pp. 208, 8.50 fr.) This brief biography is written to make Washington and his strength and success comprehensible to a German reading public. In his own day he was a hero to the Germans second only to the Corsican Paoli. If this simply written appreciation of Washington's character and his achievements as a general and as a statesman could find in present-day Germany as hearty a welcome as it would have found at the close of the eighteenth century, it would be a most significant sign. It makes good supplementary reading for German classes and for graduate students facing a reading test in German.

THE GREAT NATIONAL PROJECT: A HISTORY OF THE CHESAPEAKE AND OHIO CANAL. By *Walter S. Sanderlin*, Washington and Jefferson College. [The Johns Hopkins University Studies in Historical and Political Science, Series LXIV, Number 1.] (Baltimore, Johns Hopkins Press, 1946, pp. 331, \$3.00.) This is a much needed work, carefully documented, and for the most part thorough, clear, and concise. More complete than its predecessors, it should prove very useful to the large number of persons interested in the history of the national capital, not to mention the smaller number of students of the canal era in the United States. The Chesapeake and Ohio Canal was planned as a major east-west route from tidewater to the Ohio River. It was never completed as such, but the finished portion from Washington to Cumberland, Maryland, 184.5 miles, has had a long, picturesque, and tumultuous history. Mr. Sanderlin gives us hardly an inkling, hardly a scintilla, of the romance that has always hung over the canal, or of the sheer picturesqueness and beauty of its route. But he gives us endless facts; his bibliographical note is excellent, one portion of it, entitled "Physical Survivals," is a masterpiece of condensation. Adequately covered are the long series of obstacles, the sheer tragedies, in the path of the project's success: miseries among the laboring force that built the canal, the frustrating struggle between the canal and the Baltimore and Ohio Railroad for prior right of way, political interference, injury during the Civil War, the poverty of the Potomac Valley itself, and above all the sheer, stark tragedy of repeated floods. Time and again the canal has been struck down, as it were, by floods. In 1942 the Potomac rose and smashed the canal back into the wrecked condition in which the government had taken it over a few years earlier. "Due to war time conditions nothing has been done to restore the waterway since 1942. Park officials insist that ultimately it can and will be done. But older and wiser canal and river people sadly shake their heads." Even as late as the summer of 1947 the waters struck at the canal again. Fortunate indeed that it is today only "a quaint reminder of less sophisticated times—preserved for public recreational purposes."

ALBERT W. ATWOOD

JESSE BUEL, AGRICULTURAL REFORMER: SELECTIONS FROM HIS WRITINGS. Edited, with Introduction, by *Harry J. Carman*. [Columbia University Studies in the History of American Agriculture, Number 12.] (New York, Columbia University Press, 1947, pp. xxxvi, 609, \$6.75.) A small group of agrarian writers and editors made the first half of the nineteenth century memorable in the annals of American agricultural reform. In the van of this group was Jesse Buel, whose interest and enterprise founded *The Cultivator*, and whose literary skill and editorial energy pushed it



to the forefront of the expanding crop of agricultural periodicals. Buel preached on all occasions the gospel of better farming, and *The Cultivator* is replete with information of a practical sort gathered from wide editorial correspondence and reading, and from personal observation, for Buel was himself a successful farmer. In addition Buel early and constantly championed the cause of agricultural education in its broadest ramifications, continuously taught the worth and dignity of the farmer, and keenly appraised the place of agriculture in the national structure. His observations possess contemporary value. Buel's writings long lay buried, their existence largely unknown except to the special scholar, and their significance unappreciated. Dr. Carman has done a real service in making accessible to the more casual student of history this edition of Buel's writings and addresses, and he has performed his task well. An adequate biographical essay serves as an introduction to the material from the pen of Buel himself, which is carefully chosen from *The Cultivator* and from other sources. The editor has included entire *The Farmer's Companion*, a handbook written by Buel and published posthumously in 1839. Editorial footnotes, thoughtfully provided throughout the text, give succinct biographical information on the numerous agricultural experimenters and reformers to whom Buel frequently referred. The index has been carefully prepared. Minor editorial slips occur, but these are inconsequential when weighed against the worth of the volume to the historian, especially the historian of American agriculture.

NEIL A. McNALL

**TWO BLADES OF GRASS: A HISTORY OF SCIENTIFIC DEVELOPMENT IN THE U. S. DEPARTMENT OF AGRICULTURE.** By *T. Swann Harding*. (Norman, University of Oklahoma Press, 1947, pp. xv, 352, \$3.50.) A very comprehensive survey, covering an extended period of time, and a large range of scientific interests of a great governmental agency. One marvels that any single individual could have brought so much factual material together. A convenient summary of a wide variety of activities is thus afforded. Its nontechnical style results, perhaps, in an impression of the completeness of certain researches, which researchers would classify as still in progress. It does afford the nonprofessional reader an idea of the intricacies of agricultural research, however, and of the co-operation between numerous specialists, trained in the several physical, biological, and sociological fields, who must pool their resources in the solution of many agricultural problems. Doubtless it will be agreed that a complete history of agricultural research cannot be written in terms of the contributions of any single unit. Concurrently with the work covered by Harding, other agencies, private and state-supported, were effectively active. This is suggested by the brief, but incomplete reference to the state experiment stations in the chapter concerning nationwide research subsidy. Likewise, certain co-operative programs are not made fully evident, as witness (p. 163) the reference to the location of the Regional Swine Breeding Laboratory at Ames, Iowa, without indicating the major role played in that laboratory by the professional staffs of several co-operating state experiment stations. It must be conceded, however, that Harding did not set out to write a complete history of agricultural research. As a historian of the Department of Agriculture, he has produced a useful and illuminating document. All who have any knowledge of the evolution of science will recognize that the characters in this historical drama must be appraised in terms of their setting in time and also of the facilities afforded them. This appraisal should be facilitated by the factual material recorded in this book.

C. H. BAILEY

**SHIRT-SLEEVE DIPLOMAT.** By *Josephus Daniels*, Ambassador to Mexico, 1933-1942. (Chapel Hill, University of North Carolina Press, 1947, pp. xix, 547, \$5.00.) "In this

volume, the fifth of my autobiography, there is compressed what 'me befell' in the years 1933-1942, when I was Ambassador from the United States to the Republic of Mexico. I essay no history. . . . I tell of the things I saw and of the people. . . ." If this account is not history it is valuable source material—a collection of illustrative quotations from a weekly diary and correspondence. It is an important addition to the accumulating firsthand accounts of those who played instruments in the Roosevelt ensemble. The Good Neighbor policy is shown in action complementing and supplementing the Six Year Plan of Cárdenas and other revolutionists in their tense struggle against landed and clerical and oil interests. This story, regrettably only a fourth of the book, is splendidly told. The honest, lovable, jovial, naive, protocol-hating characteristics of an able politician and determined diplomat are splashed throughout the forty-seven chapters of the book. Six hundred individuals are skillfully measured by the Good Neighbor standard in the hands of a professed "militant liberal" whose good work paid large dividends as World War II broke. The description of embassy life and of his beloved wife's part and of informal diplomatic procedure are excellent, but too little credit is given to those who labored at secondary "career" jobs. At least half of the two hundred tales and bright sayings are pertinent and may be read without much exasperation. The faults of the book (poor arrangement, jumbled chronology, misplaced photographs, absence of a map and occasionally needed translations, repetitions, digressions, and unimportant inconsistencies) are primarily those of the publishers who should have given the dear octogenarian more assistance in tightening and polishing the manuscript even though he is one of America's most famous newspapermen.

CLANTON W. WILLIAMS

THE WALLACES OF IOWA. By *Russell Lord*. (Boston, Houghton Mifflin, 1947, pp. xiii, 615, \$5.00.) For a shy and modest individual, Henry A. Wallace has in his political career created an immense amount of strife and furor. Although many of his fellow citizens have attempted to dismiss him as a troublemaker, a visionary, and a mystic, Wallace still remains a significant factor in American life. *The Wallaces of Iowa* is an attempt to explain Henry A. Wallace in terms of his Iowa origins and his family background. Russell Lord, author of *Behold Our Land* and for many years associate editor of the *Country Home*, has produced a well-written, informative book. Lord traces the Wallace family from its Scotch-Irish backgrounds to the migration of Henry ("Uncle Henry") Wallace to Iowa after the Civil War. "Uncle Henry" carved an important place for himself through farming and editing country journals in the post-Civil War era. Formerly a preacher in the United Presbyterian Church, the first Henry Wallace was always a deeply religious man. "Kinsmen and friends," writes Russell Lord, "who have known Henry Agard Wallace all his life say that you can not begin to understand him until you know something about his family, and more particularly about 'Uncle Henry', his patriarchal grandfather." The author relies heavily on Uncle Henry's memoirs, written when he was near eighty, for the material in the early part of this book. Through frequent quotations from the memoirs the reader receives a good picture of the development of the Iowa corn belt, the growth of Iowa State College, the problems of farm journalism, and the agrarian attempt to control the Republican party. The material on "Uncle Henry's" son, Henry C. Wallace, is also of importance in terms of the information furnished on agriculture, *Wallace's Farmer*, and on his trials as Secretary of Agriculture under President Harding. The greatest value of the book for the historian, however, lies in the information dealing with Henry A. Wallace's activities as Secretary of Agriculture, as Vice-President, and as a member of President Truman's cabinet. During Wallace's days as Secretary of

Agriculture, Lord worked for Wallace and, thus, much of the later part of this book is written by a man who participated in the events he describes. Although this is not an official biography of the Wallace family, Henry A. Wallace did read nearly all the manuscript and grant the author many interviews. For this reason the book should be valuable to those later writers who attempt to explain Henry A. Wallace's varied activities since 1933. Although *The Wallaces of Iowa* is a far better book than Frank Kingdon's *An Uncommon Man: Henry Wallace and 60 Million Jobs* (New York, 1945), it lacks the warmth and insight that only unrestricted access to personal correspondence can afford. The complete and truly meaningful story of the Wallace family can be written only when personal letter files are open to researchers.

WALTER JOHNSON

PEARL HARBOR: THE STORY OF THE SECRET WAR. By *George Morgenstern*. (New York, Devin-Adair, 1947, pp. xv, 425, \$3.00.) The debate over the war guilt question of 1941 has opened with even more asperity than usually accompanies such postwar controversies. Mr. Morgenstern, a member of the *Chicago Tribune* editorial staff, contends that war guilt rests upon the Roosevelt administration, which saw to it that Japan was "reduced to desperation" and "deprived of hope." The attack on Pearl Harbor, he holds, was ardently desired, cleverly provoked, and thoroughly expected by the administration. General Short and Admiral Kimmel were made the scapegoats. Eleven official investigations of the Pearl Harbor disaster, and the publication of the decoded "intercepts" of Japanese diplomatic and espionage dispatches have made it apparent that the Japanese attack of December 7, 1941, was not all that the exigencies of war propaganda made it convenient for people to believe, and that responsibility for the breakdown in the defense of the naval base extends beyond the local military command to high places in Washington. But Mr. Morgenstern goes far beyond these conclusions. He is fascinated by "the shadowy outline of a monstrous, unbelievable conspiracy," which has "the ingredients of a mystery story." The Machiavellian conspirators "reckoned with cold detachment" the risks they took—which included the destruction of the Pacific Fleet. Prompted by "a desire to do nothing that would deter or forestall the attack which would produce the overt act so long and so fervently sought," they saw to it that "the 'warnings' they sent to Hawaii failed—and were so phrased and so handled as to insure failure." The motivation suggested includes "the failure of the administration's domestic policy," "Roosevelt's personal ambition," and his "subservience to foreign interests." As for General Marshall, Admiral Stark, Admiral Wilkinson, and numerous other military officers in Washington involved in the "conspiracy," they were lured by "the vision of spectacular commands and stars upon their shoulders." In order to lend substance to the "shadowy outline" of the conspiracy thesis, Mr. Morgenstern departs from the documentation which supports much of his book and resorts to conjecture and the assignment of motives. The extent to which his method carries him is indicated by his suggestion that the decision to withhold from the public the findings of the Army board and Navy court on Pearl Harbor was defended "by resorting to the convenient pretext of national security." These reports, one of which was filed on the day before and one on the day of our landing in the Philippines, revealed the complete command of our cryptographers over the Japanese cipher—an invaluable source of military intelligence until the end of the war.

C. VANN WOODWARD

THE BEGINNINGS OF OPA. Part I, THE PRICE CONTROL ACT OF 1942. By *William Jerome Wilson*. Part II, THE PRICE STABILIZATION DIVISION. By *John A. Hart*. Part III, SELECTIVE PRICE CONTROL. By *George R. Taylor*.

[Historical Reports on War Administration, Office of Temporary Controls, Office of Price Administration, General Publication No. 1.] (Washington, Government Printing Office, 1947, pp. x, 246, 50 cents.)

HISTORY OF THE OFFICE OF THE COORDINATOR OF INTER-AMERICAN AFFAIRS. [Historical Reports on War Administration.] (Washington, Government Printing Office, 1947, pp. vii, 284, \$1.25.)

MARSHALL, CITIZEN SOLDIER. By *William Frye*. (Indianapolis, Bobbs-Merrill, 1947, pp. 397, \$3.75.) In presenting this book on the man who was Chief of Staff of the United States Army during World War II, and who more recently became Secretary of State, the author admits that his sources were chiefly oral and that he has written a study rather than a biography. But his sources were good; he states: "The friendly interest and generous co-operation of the Secretary of War, Robert P. Patterson, alone have made possible even so limited a study as this of General Marshall." Perhaps because some of his authorities wished to remain anonymous, there is a complete lack of documentation. Despite these handicaps, the book is valuable. In the first place, Marshall himself has prohibited the writing of a truly documented biography by refusing, for personal reasons, to aid such a project in any way. Until those historians who are now at work on the Army's multivolumed history of the last war have produced the story of Marshall as Chief of Staff from the records to which they alone have had access, we probably can expect to have no better knowledge of the man than that which is in this book. The author did considerable research on Marshall's early years, his family background, his education, and the beginnings of his Army career, by interviewing and by collecting old letters. From this garnering, scant though it must have been, emerges a credible picture of an unusually gifted man and soldier. From there on the narrative is based largely on the public record and the reminiscences of Marshall's fellow Army officers who gave both fact and interpretation. To these the author has added an impressive amount of thought, and presumably personal knowledge. There are important, but under the circumstances inevitable, omissions. While the book could have been more critical, it is well balanced (less than one third deals with Marshall as Chief of Staff) and it is most engagingly written.

HAROLD DEAN CATER

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## NEW ENGLAND AND MIDDLE COLONIES AND STATES

CONCORD: AMERICAN TOWN. By *Townsend Scudder*. (Boston, Little, Brown, 1947, pp. 421, \$5.00.) This is a history on a new plan, and if its necessary limitations are considered, a successful one. Mr. Scudder has taken the most famous of all American small towns and has written its personal history. That is, he has made his story from what individuals were, and did, and said. Institutions are not neglected but kept in the background. Geography becomes a setting for the men and women who subdued it. The place of Concord in the broad sweep of American economic, sociological, military, and political history is defined, whenever possible, by the acts and words and personal pressures of the citizens of Concord. His thesis is that Concord is *a* if not *the* typical American small town. With so remarkable a community, with so remarkable a history, this thesis is sometimes strained, and sometimes disputable. But there is no question as to the success of his method. Behind the book is a vast body of firsthand research in every kind of record, local for Concord, national for the significant events all over the continent in which Concord men have played their part. Thus, in addition to scenes, some world famous, some purely domestic, in Concord itself, there are dramatic and excellently narrated incidents of the Indian wars, of the Civil War, down to the last great conflict in the Pacific. The research in preparation for this book will be evident to the scholar, but it is nowhere allowed to interfere



with the free flow of the narrative, which it makes obviously authentic without clogging it with a catalogue of sources. The best part of the book is to be found in the colonial and Revolutionary periods. Here Mr. Scudder's approach results in a fresh handling of old themes, which come alive with the individuals who live them. We see this or that figure, often little known before, now become familiar, and picked out in the action as with a powerful glass. The most useful section of the book for the social and literary historian is the account of Concord's era of great men. For here Thoreau, Emerson, Alcott particularly, appear not as outstanding geniuses, but as citizens who, however notable in history, are here part of the close-knit fabric of Concord. Inevitably, the least effective section of the book is the last, when in our own times Concord does become actually just another American small town. But here Mr. Scudder makes his argument most successful. Concord, whatever its history, will serve now for America, with only minor modifications. Such a book in no way takes the place of a "Middletown," for in such kind of analysis, Mr. Scudder shows little interest. The book is neither sociological, psychological, nor philosophical. But if what the historian wishes to do is to capture the personality, the known personal experience of a community, Mr. Scudder has shown how it can be done.

HENRY SEIDEL CANBY

HISTORY OF THE ROXBURY LATIN SCHOOL, 1645-1945. By *Richard Walden Hale, jr.* (Cambridge, Mass., Riverside Press, 1946, pp. iv, 170.)

EDWARD KAVANAGH: CATHOLIC, STATESMAN, DIPLOMAT FROM MAINE, 1795-1844. By *William Leo Lucey, S.J.*, Chairman, Department of History and Political Science, College of the Holy Cross. (Francestown, N. H., Marshall Jones, 1946, pp. viii, 270, \$3.50.) The task of gathering into a biography the strands of a minor and miscellaneous life is at best a doubtful enterprise and can be justified only where new material of genuine public significance is introduced. By that test the volume at hand fails. As a biography, it adds little to Howard K. Beale's incisive sketch in the *Dictionary of American Biography*. The Kavanagh papers, used half a century ago by C. W. Collins, have disappeared, and the private manuscripts here examined add little that is not trivial. If, as it appears, the author is interested in the status of Catholicism in New England before the period of large-scale Irish immigration, he has failed to give us any perceptive insights. Kavanagh emerges, and no doubt correctly, as an intimate of the hierarchy and as a man of private devotion to his faith rather than as a lay leader of importance. To most of his contemporaries he was familiar less as an aggressive Catholic than as a faithful member of the Jacksonian machine in Maine. But never in this account of Kavanagh as governor, congressman, and as one of the Maine state commissioners who negotiated with Webster on the boundary aspects of the Ashburton Treaty do we get a sense of the dynamic nature and political significance of the frontier in Maine. The treatment of the boundary problem rests largely on secondary works, and the author never gets below the surface of the authorized and official state of Maine version of the story. With Kavanagh's career as American minister to Portugal, and with the trade treaty of 1840-41, the author does his best work. His historical craftsmanship is demonstrated in the use he has made of the United States National Archives, but his failure to use the records of the British Foreign Office and the continuing inaccessibility of the Portuguese archives together mean that the definitive work on this many-sided aspect of Anglo-American-Portuguese-Brazilian relations will be the task of a later scholar.

THOMAS LE DUC



THE ANCIENT TOWN OF PELHAM, WESTCHESTER COUNTY, STATE OF NEW YORK. Compiled by *Lockwood Barr*. (Richmond, Dietz Press, 1946, pp. 190, \$5.00.)

COUNTY GOVERNMENT AND ARCHIVES IN PENNSYLVANIA. Prepared by the Pennsylvania Historical Survey. Edited by *Sylvester K. Stevens* and *Donald H. Kent*. (Harrisburg, Pennsylvania Historical and Museum Commission, 1947, pp. x, 576.)

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#### SOUTHERN COLONIES AND STATES

THE WAY OF THE SOUTH: TOWARD THE REGIONAL BALANCE OF AMERICA. By *Howard W. Odum*. (New York, Macmillan, 1947, pp. vi, 350, \$3.00.) In convenient form for layman and specialist the Kenan professor of sociology at the University of North Carolina has digested his researches and those of his co-workers

in the Southern way of life. Dr. Odum writes with the authority gained from forty years of experience with his subject. He brings to it not only the necessary understanding and sympathy but also an equally requisite criticism. Stylistically, after the manner of Whitman and Sandburg, he captures much of the folk quality of the people. The book is indexed and, although there are no footnotes, the groundwork upon which it rests is made clear in the concluding chapter. Dr. Odum has succeeded in doing, in a preliminary way, what he says (p. 335) was originally planned but found to be "too large an undertaking for the time," namely, writing "a biography of the Southern United States." The historian as well as the sociologist can follow his approach to the subject. Proper emphasis is placed on the importance of a knowledge of the South's physical setting, natural and human resources, historical development, and social heritage in understanding its present-day ways and problems. The South is portrayed in all its colors and complexity of advantages and handicaps. The author constantly stresses the role of the folk and gets down to individuals as well. Once again attention is called to the presence and place of the majority middle class in the social caste system along with the more publicized planter, Negro, and "poor white." Various kinds and levels of planning are explained and the need for planning in solving the South's problems is demonstrated. Another important point made is that the South, despite its real and much-heralded uniqueness, is, and has been, fundamentally a part of America and a kind of microcosm of American development. In various of its aspects, analyzed in successive chapters, the way of the South is shown to have been largely the way of America. Dr. Odum presents the South not as a sectional pervert but as a regional entity possessing much in the way of resources and ideas, developed and potential, to contribute to the composite that is America. He places the South in its true national and world setting and assigns it the task of striving for regional excellence through the combined efforts of all groups in the South and in the nation. Especially called for is an improvement in the quality of the leadership and citizenship everywhere in and out of the South. LAWRENCE F. BREWSTER

PRELIMINARY CHECKLIST FOR ABINGDON, 1807-1876. Compiled by various hands and edited by *John Cook Wyllie*, Curator of Rare Books, the University of Virginia. [Virginia Imprint Series, Number 1.] (Richmond, Virginia State Library, 1946, pp. 45, \$1.00.) "The Abingdon list is the first of a Virginia imprints series projected under the joint sponsorship of the Library of Congress, the University of Virginia, the Virginia State Library, the College of William and Mary, and the Virginia Historical Society. . . . Basically this is the W.P.A. Imprints Inventory List with additions and notes."

THE WILDERNESS ROAD. By *Robert L. Kincaid*. (Indianapolis, Bobbs-Merrill, 1947, pp. 392, \$3.75.) The Wilderness Road has not been neglected by historians, but the present account differs from earlier works in several respects. It begins before the days of Daniel Boone, treating of the first explorations of transmontane Virginia, the settlement of the Great Valley, and of the journeys of Thomas Walker and of the Long Hunters. Furthermore, it does not end at the close of the eighteenth century, as do the earlier accounts, but brings the history of the old road down to the present day, giving a graphic account of the Civil War operations in the neighborhood of Cumberland Gap, and of the economic development of that region in modern times. Dr. Kincaid is peculiarly fitted for the writing of such a work, for he has spent most of his active life at Lincoln Memorial University, situated at the threshold of Cumberland Gap, and is now vice-president of that institution. He knows the present and the past of this region and writes of it in an authentic and charming manner. It is, therefore,

unfortunate that he extended his account to include the road down the Valley of Virginia. He speaks of this as a part of "the original Wilderness Road," which "began at Wadkin's Ferry on the Potomac River," but the "true Wilderness Road to Kentucky and the Northwest took up this feeder Valley Road at Kingsport." This interpretation of the extent of the road gave the author opportunity to include a chapter on "Settling the Great Valley," and this also is unfortunate, for he has depended on secondary sources which are not always reliable. For instance, on page 40 he tells the familiar story of Benjamin Borden's capture of a buffalo calf "which he took to Williamsburg as a present for Governor Gooch," whereupon "the governor entered an order on his official book authorizing Borden to locate 500,000 acres on the upper Shenandoah and James Rivers." The buffalo story is discredited even by the secondary authorities which the author used, Borden was granted only 100,000 acres, and James Patton was not his son-in-law. But since footnotes are used with the greatest economy, it is difficult to trace the origin of any particular statement. There are a few obvious slips in other sections of the book, such as "*jurat*" for "*juvat*" in a familiar Latin quotation (p. 37), and the statement that the Ohio Company was making money out of western lands (p. 94). However, it is a different matter when Dr. Kincaid is dealing with the Cumberland Gap region. There he is on familiar ground, and his vivid narrative of Civil War operations and of the spectacular financial ventures of Alexander Alan Arthur during the flush times before the crash of 1893 are fresh, apparently authentic, and thoroughly readable. On the whole, this volume is a creditable beginning of the series on great highways being edited by Jay Monaghan, state historian of Illinois.

THOMAS PERKINS ABERNETHY

LETTERS FROM LEE'S ARMY, OR MEMOIRS OF LIFE IN AND OUT OF THE ARMY IN VIRGINIA DURING THE WAR BETWEEN THE STATES. Compiled by *Susan Leigh Blackford*. Annotated by *Charles Minor Blackford*. Edited and abridged for publication by *Charles Minor Blackford III*. (New York, Charles Scribner's Sons, 1947, pp. 312, \$3.50.) This volume is the second Civil War book (see *Am. Hist. Rev.*, LI [April, 1946], 518) to come from the notable Blackford family of Lynchburg, Virginia, five sons of which saw active service in the Confederate army. It consists largely of letters from Captain Charles M. Blackford to his wife, Mrs. Blackford's letters to her husband, which portrayed the usual hardships of the homefront, and brief extracts from William M. Blackford's diary. Mrs. Blackford ties the story together with a narrative composed in after years. Captain Blackford's letters from the Potomac area, first Manassas, Fredericksburg, Gettysburg, East Tennessee, and finally from the army defending Richmond, are rich in human observations. Recorded here are examples of heroism as well as the reverse, Federal and Confederate. This high-minded Virginian, despite occasional bitterness, could view his adversary with admiration, as when he praised Colonel E. D. Baker's gallantry at Ball's Bluff, or with poignant sympathy when he reflected upon the dead Union soldier at first Bull Run. Calm and objective was his characterization of Lincoln in June, 1864: "He [Lincoln] seems to be a man of very good sense, rough, uncultivated, but I have no doubt is honest in his opinions" (p. 256). There are also vignettes of Lee, whom he idolized, and of Longstreet, Kirby Smith, Jeb Stuart, Braxton Bragg (whom he criticized), Jefferson Davis, and others. Of especial value is the firsthand picture of "Stonewall" Jackson. Here are underscored Jackson's sincere religious zeal, his abstraction, rudeness, and lack of consideration, and also the inspiring genius of this "curious, wonderful man" (p. 96). Through these pages, moreover, the decline of Southern morale unfolds. Captain Blackford became apprehensive as early as April, 1862; he at once read the true significance of Gettysburg.

and noted the effect of the hopeless economic situation on morale, 1864-65. Yet on occasion Blackford could be Dantesque, as when he complained, "There is too little of the *terrible earnestness* of a revolution" (p. 231). Able to fend for himself and family, however, Blackford retained his perspective and humor to the end. This book, despite inadequate editing, is an important addition to the source literature of the Civil War.

OLLINGER CRENSHAW

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#### WESTERN TERRITORIES AND STATES

- THE UNIVERSITY OF CHATTANOOGA: SIXTY YEARS. By Gilbert E. Govan and James W. Livingood. (Chattanooga, University of Chattanooga, 1947, pp. xiv, 271, \$3.00.)  
 EXECUTIVE PROCEEDINGS OF THE STATE OF INDIANA, 1816-1836. Edited by Dorothy Riker. (Indianapolis, Indiana Historical Bureau, 1947, pp. xiv, 911, \$5.00.)

THE PIONEER LAWYER AND JURIST IN MISSOURI. By *William Francis English*, Associate Professor of History. [The University of Missouri Studies, Vol. XXI, No. 2.] (Columbia, University of Missouri, 1947, pp. 144, \$1.50.) This well-documented monograph traces in detail the development of the bench and bar of Missouri from 1804 until the middle of the century. Although in most respects a typical frontier state, the influence in Missouri of French and Spanish courts and legal codes, differing widely from American institutions and doctrines, was an unusual factor. The prolonged and lucrative controversies involving Spanish land grants compelled the abler Missouri lawyers to master the intricate Spanish law and to participate in the political manipulation in support of a "liberal policy" for their acquisitive clients. Until 1850, the dockets both of federal and of state courts were crowded with land-title suits. The members of the bench and bar came chiefly from New England, Virginia, Kentucky, and Tennessee. Their legal training was meager and superficial; few were graduates of colleges or of law schools, but "read law" in the office of a local attorney. The practice of law was a rough routine, conducted over isolated circuits and centered in the village market place, with primitive facilities, inadequate libraries, and only fairly competent judges. As the commonwealth developed, litigation grew in land cases, the fur trade, lead mining, transportation, and merchandising. Usually conservative in matters of economic and financial policy, lawyers themselves engaged in land speculation, railroad promotion, and other business enterprises. Politics, office-seeking and office-holding were, for many, fields of major interest. In the wider area of public affairs, the Missouri lawyer had an important part in the development of education, journalism, and scientific agriculture, as well as in the social and religious life of the times. The author enlivens his careful and meticulous work by interesting descriptions of the careers of numerous pioneer lawyers and judges. A few of these, notably Thomas Hart Benton, Edward Bates, Hamilton R. Gamble, and Charles D. Drake, achieved national recognition.

THOMAS S. BARCLAY

THE BIG BONANZA: AN AUTHENTIC ACCOUNT OF THE DISCOVERY, HISTORY, AND WORKING OF THE WORLD-RENOWNED COMSTOCK LODGE OF NEVADA. By *Dan De Quille* [William Wright]. Introduction by Oscar Lewis. [Western Americana, edited by Robert Glass Cleland and Oscar Lewis.] (New York, Alfred A. Knopf, 1947, pp. xli, 439, viii, \$5.00.) This classic work by the Boswell of early Nevada mining days must always bear comparison with Mark Twain's classic *Roughing It*. Twain's book is superior as literature; De Quille's is much superior as history. The first and only edition of *The Big Bonanza* was published in 1876, and went out of print in 1912. We now have a handsome reprint, including reproduction of the original illustrations—first of a series of reprints in the field of early Western Americana. Dan De Quille was the nom de plume of William Wright, an Iowan who tried his luck at prospecting in California and Nevada (or Utah), from 1857 to 1862, without success. Then from 1862 until its suspension in 1893, he was reporter and editor on the Virginia City *Enterprise*, meanwhile contributing frequent sketches on mining life to California periodicals. As Twain's roommate and senior reporter, he exercised great influence upon the younger man during his formative years, while Mark was first trying his hand as full-time journalist and humorist. The humorous sketches, or "Quaints," of De Quille were the models for those with which the fledgling Twain tried out his wings, not always with success. Twain spent only two years as a Comstock reporter; he had a poor memory and preferred to rely on extravagant flights of imagination. De Quille's is accordingly much the better work as a documentary source book for Comstock history. Mr. Lewis, in his introduction based on new materials, shows how De Quille had first planned two

books—one of humorous sketches reprinted from his newspaper, one of dry facts and statistics as inspired by the rich mineowners, who wanted a book to publicize themselves and to boom their stock shares. Mr. Lewis shows how Twain persuaded De Quille to combine the two, to come to Hartford for final writing, and to let Twain's own subscription publisher handle publication. Whatever its literary or commercial failings may have been, to the historian this is a sound and dependable source on Comstock mining days, from the 1850's to the great fire of 1875. It overpraises De Quille's rich mineowner friends, and neglects some men and events. But it is invaluable for technical problems of mining as well as for social life of the miners—both of which the author knew so well.

AUSTEN E. HUTCHESON

FRANCES GREENBERG ARMITAGE PRIZE WINNING ESSAYS: ARMITAGE COMPETITION IN OREGON PIONEER HISTORY, REED COLLEGE, 1942-1946. [Reed College Bulletin: Volume XXI, Number 4; Volume XXIII, Number 2; Volume XXIV, Number 2; Volume XXV, Number 3.] (Portland, Oregon, Reed College, 1942-47, pp. 40, 32, 46, 84.) An annual competition in Oregon pioneer history was established for undergraduates and graduates of Reed College in 1941, and the essays awarded prizes after the first year have been published from time to time in the *Reed College Bulletin*. The present volume, distributed without title page, explanatory preface, table of contents, or index, binds together the four issues of the *Bulletin* containing the ten essays so published and an appreciation of Sylvanus Crittenden Armitage, the donor, which appeared in the January, 1945, issue. Whether these are reprints or the original issues is not apparent. Despite this rather haphazard method of publication, the quality of the essays is a credit to Mr. Armitage, to Reed College, and to Professor Dorothy O. Johansen's sound scholarship and teaching in this field. Although no awards in the graduate division have been made since 1942, all of the essays are distinctly superior to most of the articles that have appeared, for instance, in the *Oregon Historical Quarterly* during the same period. Without exception they contribute knowledge to Oregon history, are acceptably written and well documented; several are based on manuscript sources that had not been fully exploited. The reviewer is puzzled by two phenomena noted in perusing this volume. First, all of the essays published except one, and that the second prize for last year, were written by women. Is this the result of the war years, or are men shying away from history? Or is it only that women, at least at Reed College, take contests more seriously than men? Secondly, all but one of these essays are devoted principally, most of them exclusively, to pre-Civil War subjects. To anyone who knows something of the drama of the Pacific Northwest in that period the fascination of the forties and fifties is understandable, but it is amazing that only one in ten found anything of interest in the comparatively unworked era after 1860. Within the definition of the competition, which is limited to pioneer history, there are at least another thirty years open to investigation.

JESSE S. DOUGLAS

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## Latin-American History

James S. Cunningham

HANDBOOK OF LATIN AMERICAN STUDIES: 1944. NO. 10. A SELECTIVE GUIDE TO THE MATERIAL PUBLISHED IN 1944 ON ANTHROPOLOGY, ARCHIVES, ART, ECONOMICS, EDUCATION, FOLKLORE, GEOGRAPHY, GOVERNMENT, HISTORY, INTERNATIONAL RELATIONS, LABOR AND SOCIAL WELFARE, LANGUAGE AND LITERATURE, LAW, LIBRARIES, MUSIC, AND PHILOSOPHY. Edited by Miron Burgin, for the Library of Congress and the Joint Committee on Latin American Studies of the Conference Board of Associated Research Councils, National Research Council, American Committee on Edu-



cation, American Council of Learned Societies, and the Social Science Research Council. (Cambridge, Harvard University Press, 1947, pp. 440, \$7.00.)

BIBLIOGRAFÍA HISPANOAMERICANA. LIBROS ANTIGUOS Y MODERNOS REFERENTES A AMÉRICA Y ESPAÑA. Recopilado por D. y R. Behar. Prólogo del Dr. *Enrique Gandía*. (Buenos Aires, Librería Panamericana, 1947, pp. 371.)

LIBRO PRIMERO DE LA RECOPIACIÓN DE LAS CÉDULAS, CARTAS, PROVISIONES, Y ORDENANZAS REALES. Por *Juan de Solórzano Pereira*. Two volumes. [Facultad de derecho y ciencias sociales, Instituto de historia del derecho Argentino.] (Buenos Aires, 1945.)

THE PAGEANT OF MIDDLE AMERICAN HISTORY. By *Anne Merriman Peck*. (New York, Longmans, Green, 1947, pp. x, 496, \$4.00.) The author is not to be confused with Miss Annie S. Peck, an earlier writer on Pan American economics and geography. "Pageants" from her ready pen already depict Mrs. A. M. Peck's wide reading and travel in South America and Canada, not to mention her other cultural and social studies devoted to Europe. In all of these, artistic sketch maps and chapter headings have given her a reputation as illustrator in keeping with her ability as a writer, especially for juvenile readers. They also appeal to more mature circles. "Mid America" in her treatment consists of Mexico and the five Central American republics and Panama. Others would include the West Indies, not merely as introductory points to the discovery of the mainland. But within the limits the author has marked out for herself, she presents the salient historical features of each separate area from pre-historic Indian imperialism to its modern counterpart. Both text and sketch display the results of wide reading and observant and appreciative travel. Her narrative really presents personalities—Alvarado, Zumárraga, Morazán, and Cárdenas as well as Cortés, Santa Anna, Juárez, and Díaz. Hidalgo and Lombardo Toledano both stand for the Mexican peon, and William Walker and Minor Keith represent different types of isthmian interventionists. The book is about equally divided between the colonial and the national periods; more of its pages belong to the twentieth than to the nineteenth century. An impressive list of titles makes up her bibliography, as her text abundantly confirms, although the absence of an accepted authority like W. O. Scroggs, *Filibusters and Financiers*, may suggest the occasional use of an inferior substitute. The observations of seasoned travelers such as Thomas Gage, Madame Calderón de la Barca, and John L. Stephens are scattered through the appropriate chapters. Her statements show some perusal of original as well as secondary sources, but specialists may not always agree with her conclusions. On page 219 "José de Valdez" obviously is intended for José de Gálvez. Morelos (p. 235) was hardly "shot secretly without a trial" (*cf.* Bancroft, *History of Mexico*, IV, 618-22). Her stirring narrative we may well believe records few such slips. She criticizes those who "took" Panama or supported "dollar diplomacy" as well as the local dupes or dictators who brought on their intervention. The "Rebirth" of Mexico is described as sympathetically as its long drawn out "Revolution." In the fullness and fairness of its interpretation this book should prove as acceptable to mature readers as to younger groups. Both classes will appreciate the artistry and the interest she imparts to a long and difficult summary of events in a strategic area.

ISAAC J. COX

The following new periodicals have appeared: *Inter-American Economic Affairs* (Institute of Inter-American Studies, Simon G. Hanson, Editor, Miron Burgin, Associate Editor), Washington, I, no. 1, June. This important publication will provide an out-

let for mature scholarship in economic history and current problems, pertinent analyses of government policy and administration, and the Institute contributions from a program of business research. *Polibiblon: Bibliografía acumulativa Argentina e hispanoamericana* (Polibiblon, S.R.L., Director comercial, Ernesto Machado, Director técnico, Carlos Víctor Penna), Buenos Aires, I, no. 1, May 1. (See *Am. Hist. Rev.*, April, 1947, p. 642, for note on *The Social Sciences in Mexico*, etc., the first number of which appeared in May.)

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# \* \* \* \* *Historical News* \* \* \* \*

## American Historical Association

The *List of Doctoral Dissertations in History Now in Progress at Universities in the United States, June, 1947* (see *Am. Hist. Rev.*, July, p. 819) is now ready for distribution. The office of the Executive Secretary has some copies over and above those required to fill advance orders. Anyone wishing to order a copy may do so by writing the American Historical Association, Study Room 274, Library of Congress Annex, Washington 25, D. C. The price per copy is \$1.00.

## Other Historical Activities

Among the recent accessions to the Division of Manuscripts in the Library of Congress the following, arranged in chronological order of materials, may be noted: two letters to Governor Dinwiddie of Virginia, from the Cherokee warriors Outasite and Wateotta, bearing their marks, and "taken from the mouths of the two warriors at Fort Frederick, 18th of Feby. 1756"; photostatic copy of John Briscoe's deed to 2,060 acres of land in Frederick County, Virginia, signed by Thomas Lord Fairfax, March 1, 1768; original resolutions of George Washington and other commissioned officers of the First Virginia Regiment, drawn up in a meeting at Fredericksburg, Virginia, November 23, 1772; about sixty mercantile letters and memorandums, in French, addressed mainly to Barthelemy Terrasson, French consul in Baltimore and later merchant in Philadelphia, July 13, 1773 to October 10, 1807; eighteen letters and memorandums of Benjamin Franklin to Dr. Jan Ingenhousz and others dealing for the most part with scientific subjects, mainly April 5, 1775 to October 23, 1788; microfilm of a volume of some eighty autograph letters addressed to Saint John de Crèvecoeur, essayist and French consul general in New York, by George Washington, Thomas Jefferson, William Short, James Madison, Lafayette and others, mainly September 6, 1784 to January 19, 1798; holograph letter from George Washington to George William Fairfax, June 30, 1786; microfilm of a 366-page early transcript of certain correspondence of John Cleves Symmes with Elias Boudinot, Jonathan Dayton and others, relating to the Miami Purchase, June 11, 1788 to December 20, 1796; autograph draft of the annual report of the Potomac Company, written by George Washington as the company's president, [August, 1788]; one box of additional papers of Alfred Mordecai, relating to the Mordecai, Gratz, and Hays families, mainly 1790 to 1900; ten autograph letters of James Monroe addressed to St. George Tucker and others, August 18, 1791 to November 6, 1829; autograph letter from Thomas Jefferson to Joseph Mussi, Philadelphia merchant, January 21, 1795; microfilm of ten letters from or to Thomas Jefferson, February 27, 1795 to April 2, 1825;

holograph letter from George Washington to James Ross, in which public opinion on Jay's Treaty is discussed, August 22, 1795; autograph letter from George Washington to his nephew, George Lewis, April 9, 1797; seventeen letters, in one volume, mainly from Henry Dearborn to Joseph Bradley Varnum, March 7, 1798 to April 6, 1814; photostatic copies of five letters of Thomas Jefferson, four addressed to Albert Gallatin, and one to Thomas Newton, [February 14, 1804] to March 2, 1808; three holograph letters from Andrew Jackson to Colonel Stockley D. Hays, Quartermaster General, W. B. Sprague, and Samuel D. Ingham, Secretary of the Treasury, November 22, 1813, April 7, 1829, and March 6, 1830; letter from William Henry Harrison to Isaac Shelby, April 5, 1818; nine boxes of papers of John Bassett Moore relating principally to William Learned Marcy, including copies of letters, diaries, and documents of Marcy, and approximately one hundred letters to Judge Moore in regard to Marcy, *ca.* 1820 to 1901; twelve holograph letters from John Tyler, addressed to Daniel Webster, Beverly Tucker, Thomas R. Dew, and others, mainly September 26, 1837 to November 5, 1860; fragmentary handwritten "Account of Mails Received at the Post-Office" mainly from offices in Ohio, 1840 to 1841; handwritten financial statement of the Baton Rouge Grosse Tete & Opelousas Rail Road Company, April 20, 1858; twenty-six boxes of the private and public papers of John G. Nicolay, including letters to or relating to Abraham Lincoln, contemporary memorandums by Nicolay of Lincoln's conferences with his generals and cabinet officers, and further material gathered by Nicolay for his biography of Lincoln, as well as papers relating to Nicolay's other literary work, *ca.* 1860 to 1905; holograph letter from Abraham Lincoln to F. H. Pierpont, onetime governor of West Virginia, letter to J. R. Fry in the writing of John Hay but signed by Abraham Lincoln, and four other papers bearing the autograph of Lincoln, August 5, 1861 to April 30, 1864; photostatic copy of a holograph letter from B. F. White, written from "Col. Speights Regiment," Company H, Little Rock, Arkansas, to his father and mother, September 24, 1862; manuscript petition to the Senate and House of Representatives of the Confederate States for compensation for the loss of a slave, signed by Mary Clark, and enclosing five supporting papers, and a manuscript report from the Committee on Claims to the Speaker of the House relating to the petition, [1863]; holograph letter from Brigham Young to J. F. Kinney, M.C., dated at "G.S.L. City" March 7, 1864; order for the release of prisoners of war upon condition that the oath of amnesty be taken, written and signed by Andrew Johnson, April 12, 1865, and endorsed by Abraham Lincoln, April 14, 1865; dispatch of Edwin M. Stanton, Secretary of War, to Charles Francis Adams, minister of the United States to the Court of St. James, advising him of the assassination of Abraham Lincoln, April 15, 1865; dispatch from James Thompson to Charles Francis Adams, reporting the capture of Jefferson Davis and others, May 16, 1865; typescript copy of a letter from Mary Todd Lincoln to Mrs. [James W.] White, and photographic copy of portions of the holograph original, August 30, 1869; twelve holograph German letters of



Ludwig Louis Buechner, author of *Kraft und Staff*, 1871 to 1888; twelve holograph letters from Lafcadio Hearn to J. W. Bouton, 1883 to 1887 and undated; holograph letter from Woodrow Wilson to D. C. Heath, April 19, 1886 (restricted); thirty-five scrapbooks of Frederic William Wile, containing mainly Wile's news stories, dispatches from abroad and columns, but including also a few letters and other papers, 1898 to 1941; photostatic copies of holograph letters from Woodrow Wilson to Walter M. Rankin and [ ] Seidensticker, March 15, 1909 and September 4, 1911 (restricted); eight holograph letters and one postcard, in German, from Thomas Mann to the German writer and critic, Julius Bab, 1909 to 1930; three letters from P. T. Sherman to Eleanor S. Ewing, December 10 and 22, 1933 and April 16, 1934 (restricted); twenty-three additional papers of Lavinia L. Dock, 1935 to 1947; original manuscript of *Irodiada* by the late Vladimir Ivanovich Nemirovich-Danchenko, Russian novelist; two-page pencilled note from which Paul Valéry spoke at the Bibliothèque Nationale, appealing to the United States to recognize the responsibility of the Western Hemisphere as the last hope of civilization, November 21, 1938; microfilm of a sixty-three-page typescript copy of a grammar of the "Kepauku [Ekari]" language of Dutch New Guinea by Jean Victor de Bruijn, dated at "Erarotali," February 25, 1942; a large collection of the papers of Raymond Clapper; teletype sheets containing messages relating to the death of Franklin D. Roosevelt, April 12 to April 20, 1945; photostatic copies of additional papers of Lillian Everts, including letters from Louis Untermeyer, Robert Hillyer, and others, 1946 to 1947; typescript copy, with handwritten corrections, of an address by Thomas Mann, on "Nietzsche in the Light of Contemporary Events," delivered at the Library of Congress, April 29, 1947.

Since the first session of the Eightieth Congress did not appropriate funds for the continuation of the World War II Records Project, set up in the National Archives in the fall of 1947 at the request of President Truman, the work on the project has been suspended. The "Handbook of World War II Agencies and Their Records," which was the principal undertaking of the project to date and on which excellent progress was made, will probably be published, although it may not be as comprehensive as was originally planned.

Under date of June 12, 1947, the Bureau of the Budget issued in processed form a report of World War II histories then in progress. Copies of the report may be obtained on request to the Bureau, attention of Mrs. Eleanor Hyder. It is an interesting survey even if it did come out just as an economy-minded Congress was writing the obituary notices of many of the projects.

It will be quite impossible to take notice in the review section of the increasing flow of the histories of individual combat and service units. A mere list of them

would take several pages. They are basic contributions to the ultimate over-all history of American military participation in World War II. They are published in various forms and by various houses. They are equally various in merit, as is pointed out by Mr. Lawrence in the May issue of *Salute*. Some of them represent the most vivid and effective writing produced in our day. This is true of the battle and area campaign studies produced by the Historical Division of the War Department under the general title "American Forces in Action." Twelve paper-bound monographs have appeared, entitled severally: *Guam, Papuan Campaign, Merrill's Marauders, Makin, The Admiralties, The Winter Line* (in Italy), *To Bizerte, Salerno, Volturno, Omaha Beachhead, St. Lo, and Small Unit Actions*. Others are to follow. The War Department monographs are available through the Superintendent of Documents, Government Printing Office, Washington 25, D. C., at thirty-five or forty cents each, except *Omaha Beachhead*, which is extra size with twenty-five maps, many in colors, and seventy remarkable large photos, all for \$1.50. The histories of combat units will interest the veterans who fought in them. The *Infantry Journal* (1115 17th St., N.W., Washington, D. C.) is publishing over fifty of these and, as a public service, is keeping a list of all such histories published by other presses, and will answer inquiries.

The Robert Todd Lincoln Collection of the Papers of Abraham Lincoln in the Library of Congress has been made available in microfilm form to libraries and other purchasers since the public opening of the collection on July 26. The size of the collection is indicated by the fact that a single copy of the microfilm will extend nearly two miles (10,300 feet). The collection has been indexed, in accordance with the wishes of the donor, Mr. Robert Todd Lincoln, and the index cards are incorporated into the microfilm. A single copy of the film may be purchased from the Library's Photoduplication Service for \$645, and a microfilm copy of the index alone sells for \$32.

In the April, 1947, issue of the *Review* (p. 621) there is an announcement of the plan to publish a comprehensive edition of the papers of Lincoln. The sponsors of the project have sent out the following appeal: "The Abraham Lincoln Association, First National Bank Building, Springfield, Illinois, solicits information concerning the present private ownership and location of any document composed by Abraham Lincoln, whether or not it has been published hitherto. Documents in public institutions are readily accessible, but many of those held by individuals have not been located to date. The preparation of a complete edition of Lincoln's writings from original sources will be greatly facilitated by information leading to procurement of photostatic copies of documents held by private individuals. Acknowledgment of assistance will be fully made upon publication."

The Pennsylvania Historical and Museum Commission (Harrisburg) has authorized the printing of the papers of Colonel Henry Bouquet, Swiss-born com-

mander of British forces in Pennsylvania during the French and Indian War and the Pontiac War. Two or three volumes will be issued during 1947-49. S. K. Stevens, state historian, Donald H. Kent, associate historian, and Mrs. Autumn L. Leonard, editorial assistant, will be the editors. They will be grateful for knowledge of any Bouquet material in private collections or single letters in other manuscript collections.

The microfilming of the Miles Poindexter Papers, 1897-1937, in the University of Virginia Library, has recently been completed. Undertaken as a joint project by the University of Washington, at Seattle, and the State College of Washington, at Pullman, the microfilm consists of 180 reels of film, covering 550,000 of the 750,000 items in the collection. They cover, among other matters, Poindexter's service in Congress, where, as United States senator from Washington (1911-23), he was a leader in the opposition to the participation of the United States in the League of Nations. President Harding appointed him ambassador to Peru, 1923-28. He died in Virginia in 1946.

Princeton University, beginning this fall, is offering an expanded program for the training of men for eventual service in government, business, teaching, and missionary work in the Near East. The new program is directed by the division of Oriental languages and literatures under Philip K. Hitti as chairman. Walter Livingston Wright, jr., former president of the American College, Istanbul, and now professor of Turkish language and history at Princeton, is associated with Dr. Hitti, and three other specialists have been added to the faculty of the division: T. Cuyler Young, associate professor of Persian language and history, and Lewis V. Thomas and Edward J. Jurji, lecturers in Arabic. Colloquial language instruction is included, and courses in the culture, religion, history, and institutions of the Near East are offered in co-operation with the department of history, politics, and economics and the School of Public and International Affairs.

The University of Minnesota this fall has initiated a Scandinavian area study program through a grant from the Carnegie Corporation of New York. The new program, offered in the Scandinavian department headed by Alrik Gustafson, includes courses in languages, culture, and customs, with additional expanded studies in the history, politics, modern social advances, geography, and economic life of Norway, Sweden, Denmark, Iceland, and Finland. The courses are organized under the university's international area study program, of which Harold S. Quigley is the general chairman and L. S. Steefel the acting chairman.

A new research organization, the Business History Foundation, Inc. (P. O. Box 255, Forest Hills, New York), has been established to engage in and facilitate research in the history of the administration and operation of business and to

assist in the publication of studies in the field. It is a nonprofit corporation, which, it is expected, will be financed by gifts from individuals, institutions, and companies. The first notable project to be undertaken by the foundation, after more than a year's exploratory study of its feasibility and importance, is the preparation of a history of the Standard Oil Company (New Jersey), which has made a gift to the foundation to facilitate its work. This project is planned to take at least five years; the research will be exhaustive, the presentation candid, and publication unrestricted. The work will be done by a group of scholars including Dr. Ralph W. Hidy and Dr. Muriel E. Hidy, formerly of Wheaton College (Massachusetts); and Mrs. Evelyn Knowlton, Mr. John Ewing, and Dr. C. S. Popple, who were trained in business history at the Harvard School of Business. Professor N. S. B. Gras will head the project, in a consulting capacity until his retirement from Harvard University, and Dr. Henrietta M. Larson has been granted leave from Harvard to have active charge of the work of the foundation and also to participate in research.

*International Organization* is the name of a new periodical to be published quarterly by the World Peace Foundation, 40 Mt. Vernon Street, Boston 8. The first issue appeared in February and in its 278 pages are news and documents from all types of international organizations, together with three articles by Leland Goodrich, Philip E. Moseley, and Dwight E. Lee. Miss Marie Carroll is responsible for a helpful selected bibliography on the chief international commissions and agencies, chiefly those connected with the United Nations. The annual subscription is \$3.50 a year.

An annual volume of abstracts of East European publications in history and the social sciences, including linguistics, is now being contemplated at Indiana University, Bloomington. Dr. Thomas A. Sebeok, of Indiana University, will edit the "East European Abstracts," as the series will be called. East European specialists in the various social sciences are invited to communicate with the editor.

The first issue of a new and interesting periodical *Indian Archives* (January, 1947) has recently appeared. Its chief editor is Dr. S. N. Sen, Director of Archives, Government of India. This issue of ninety-six pages contains three original articles by Indian contributors, three articles reprinted by permission from Western periodicals, a long "News Notes" section (pp. 45-87), and a shorter book review section. In his opening "Editor's Note" Dr. Sen speaks of "the wisdom of the West in a science the West has made its own" and laments the fact that Western publications are generally not available to the keepers of records in India. It is in line with his purpose of making this journal "an information bureau for Indian archivists" that the Western material is reprinted. Western readers will discover from the "Study on Palm Leaf Manuscripts" by S. Chakravorti, in this issue, that

India is not behind in the scientific analysis of some of her own special problems. The article by Colonel R. H. Phillimore on records of the Survey of India, a large and valuable body of official cartographical records soon to be transferred to the Imperial Record Department, will interest archivists, historians, and geographers alike. Special mention should be made of the section of the news notes wherein the work of the various record offices in India is summarized. This is information not generally known and not easily obtainable by Western archivists and historians. *Indian Archives* is published quarterly by the Imperial Record Department, Government of India, New Delhi. The annual subscription is Rs. 8.

The Egyptian Ministry of Education announces the formation of the Royal Society for Historical Studies with headquarters in Cairo. Its objects are, broadly speaking, comparable to those of our own progressive state historical societies, including a periodical. The publications will be mainly in the Arabic language with occasional articles and studies in a modern European language.

Renewing its grant to the Newberry Library for the Newberry Fellowships in Midwestern Studies, the Rockefeller Foundation has increased its former amount of \$25,000 to \$50,000. The fellowships are awarded for the writing of sound and readable books about the Middle West. Applications are now being received by Stanley Pargellis, Librarian of the Newberry Library, Chicago 10, Illinois.

The following awards in history and related fields have been granted by the Social Science Research Council: *Grants-in-aid* (for completion of research projects currently under way): Lamberto Borghi, New York City, a history of education in modern Italy; Eberhard F. Bruck, Harvard University, a history of the migration of a religious idea through the laws of the Eastern and Western world; John W. Coulter, University of Cincinnati, a study of the island of Ireland since its division into two governments in 1921; Frederick H. Cramer, Mt. Holyoke College, a study of the influence of the sciences in Roman life and law; Dorothy G. Fowler, Hunter College, a study of the life and times of John C. Spooner, United States senator from Wisconsin, 1885-91, 1897-1907; Leo Gershoy, New York University, an analysis of events preceding and during the Vichy regime with particular emphasis on the influence of Marshal Pétain; Oscar Handlin, Harvard University, study of the cultural effects of separation upon emigrants to the United States; Lawrence A. Harper, University of California, an economic history of the Thirteen Colonies with special reference to the relative effectiveness of social planning and private enterprise; Helmut Hirsch, Roosevelt College, collection of data on the international government of the Saar Territory and completion of a volume entitled "Pioneer in International Government"; Richard J. Hooker, Roosevelt College, study of the South Carolina frontier, 1766-72; Oscar

Jászi, Oberlin College, research on recent social and political changes in the Danubian countries and their probable consequences; Neil A. McNall, Pennsylvania State College, an investigation of mortgage indebtedness of farmers, and of mortgage loan activities of investors in the Genesee Valley, 1835-60; Graham H. Stuart, Stanford University, preparation of a volume on the history, organization, and work of the Department of State. *Southern grants-in-aid*: Thomas B. Alexander, Clemson College, a study of the political, and particularly pertinent social and economic, phases of the Reconstruction period in Tennessee; Berlin B. Chapman, Oklahoma Agricultural and Mechanical College, a history of federal management of lands in the Cherokee Outlet from 1803 to 1907; Robert B. Holtman, Louisiana State University, analysis of the use of historical references in German and Italian radio broadcasts during the war; Weymouth T. Jordan, Alabama Polytechnic Institute, a social history of Mobile during the 1850's; James W. Silver, University of Mississippi, research on public opinion in the Confederacy. *Research training fellowships* (to Ph.D. candidates for work on dissertations): Robert I. Crane, Yale University, the Indian National Congress as a socio-historical movement; William W. Kaufmann, Yale University, British policy and the independence of Latin America, 1804-28; Helen Sullivan Mims, Cornell University, Spanish social organization in its relation to the democratic tradition; Russell E. F. Planck, Columbia University, a study of public opinion on major internal political issues in postwar France and its relation to electoral returns; Eugene V. Schneider, Harvard University, the sources and social foundations of the "liberal" tradition in American life; William L. Spalding, jr., Cornell University, the development of imperialistic tendencies within the German Social Democratic party, 1914-18; Theodore H. Von Laue, Ph.D. Princeton University, for study at the Russian Institute of Columbia University (history).

The director of the Institute of Early American History and Culture announces the awarding of a grant to Babette May Levy of Hunter College for completing a work on "Puritanism in the South and in the West Indies," and to Frederick B. Tolles of Swarthmore College for finishing his manuscript on the "Philadelphia Quaker Merchant."

Shepard B. Clough, of Columbia University, has received a grant from the Penrose Fund of the American Philosophical Society to aid in continuing his study of the economic history of the factors of production, primarily in the European-American scene.

The Carnegie Corporation of New York has made available a grant for a comprehensive study of the role of state universities in American education and the effects of government support upon these institutions. The study will be conducted by Frederic L. Paxson, Margaret Byrne professor of history, University of California.

Among the Guggenheim Latin American Fellowship Awards for 1947 two are for historical studies: Aníbal Sánchez Reulet, dean of the faculty of philosophy and letters, University of Tucumán, Argentina: studies of the influence of philosophic ideas in Spanish America, especially during the wars of independence; Eduardo Arcila Farías, historian, Caracas, Venezuela: studies of the economic ideas of Spanish America during the eighteenth century—in collaboration with Dr. Earl J. Hamilton, professor of economic history in the University of Chicago.

Kenneth Bjork of St. Olaf College, Northfield, Minnesota, has taken leave of absence for the coming year to study the contribution of Norwegian-Americans to the development of the Pacific Coast area. The project was conceived and is supported by the Norwegian-American Historical Association.

The annual meeting of the Mediaeval Academy of America was held in Cambridge, Massachusetts, on Friday and Saturday, April 25–26, 1947. Archer Taylor, professor of German in the University of California, was elected first vice-president. Belle DaCosta Greene, director of the Pierpont Morgan Library, John Life LaMonte of the University of Pennsylvania, G. H. Gerould of Princeton, and John W. Spargo of Northwestern were elected to the council. Antonino De Stefano, professor of medieval history at the University of Palermo, was elected a corresponding fellow. Charles R. D. Miller, executive secretary of the Mediaeval Academy, was appointed editor of *Speculum* to succeed the late Samuel Hazzard Cross. H. M. Smyser, professor of English in Connecticut College, Barnaby C. Keeney, assistant professor of history in Brown University, and John P. Elder, assistant professor of Greek and Latin at Harvard, were named assistant editors. Joseph R. Strayer, chairman of the department of history at Princeton, was elected a fellow of the Academy. Others elected fellows are: Tom Peete Cross, University of Chicago; Sirarpie Der Nersessian, Dumbarton Oaks Research Library of Harvard University, Washington, D. C.; and B. L. Ullman, University of North Carolina.

At the annual meeting of the council of the Institute of Early American History and Culture, held in Williamsburg, May 2–3, 1947, Wesley F. Craven of New York University, John A. Krout of Columbia University, Richard Lee Morton of the College of William and Mary, Raymond P. Stearns of the University of Illinois, and Carl Van Doren of New York City were elected to the council for a term of three years each. The principal topic of discussion at the meeting was the problem of the decline of interest in teaching and research in the field of early American history and the working out of ways and means of reviving it. At the meeting Louis B. Wright of the Huntington Library, a retiring member of the council, was presented with the first copy of Robert Beverley's *History and Present State of Virginia*, which he edited for the Institute as its first publication.



The first New York annual state-wide convention of junior historians was held at Albany on May 10, with an attendance of 649 junior members of the New York State Historical Association. Thirty-six of the association's sixty-one chapters were represented.

## Personal

### APPOINTMENTS AND STAFF CHANGES

Wayne C. Grover has been named assistant archivist of the United States. He succeeds Dan Lacy, who recently resigned to accept a position in the Library of Congress.

C. Mildred Thompson, dean of Vassar College for the past twenty-five years and professor of history, will retire at the close of the academic year 1947-48. She will continue to be active in the field of education for women in the South and in international education.

C. W. de Kiewiet, dean of the College of Arts and Sciences, Cornell University, has gone to the Union of South Africa to visit the leading educational institutions and to write a report on research and teaching in the postwar Union.

Lowell Ragatz, professor of European history in the George Washington University, has been granted sabbatical leave for the academic year 1947-48 and is now in London carrying on research in comparative colonial policies.

Merle Curti is to be the first occupant of the Frederick Jackson Turner chair in history, recently established by the University of Wisconsin with funds provided by the newly organized University of Wisconsin Foundation.

Pitman B. Potter, formerly chairman of the department of international relations and organization in the School of Social Sciences and Public Affairs of the American University, is now dean of the graduate division. Dr. Potter succeeds Dr. Ernst Posner, who has become associate director of the School of Social Sciences and Public Affairs.

John D. Hicks has resigned as dean of the Graduate Division of the University of California, Berkeley, and has been made head of the department of history.

Avery O. Craven, professor of American history at the University of Chicago, is a visiting professor for six months at the University of Sydney, where he is lecturing on Western history. Dr. Craven will return about January 1, 1948.

Yale University announces the following promotions and appointments: Wallace Notestein has become Sterling professor of English history emeritus; Alfred Whitney Griswold has been promoted to be professor of history; Hartley Simpson has been made associate professor of history and associate dean of the graduate school; Franklin LeV. Baumer and David M. Potter have been promoted to the rank of associate professor of history. Dr. Potter has been granted leave of absence for the academic year 1947-48 and has been appointed Harmsworth professor of American history at Oxford University. Samuel Hugh Brockunier of Wesleyan University has been appointed visiting lecturer in history, and Charles S. Gardner has been appointed visiting associate professor of Far Eastern history for the year.

J. Montgomery Gambrill, of the Johns Hopkins University, is visiting professor of history at Smith College for the current academic year.

Richard N. Current, formerly of Lawrence College, has been appointed May Treat Morrison professor of American history at Mills College.

Gerald S. Graham, formerly professor of history in Queen's University, Kingston, Ontario, is now reader in history in the University of London.

Robert Kimball Richardson, professor of history and chairman of the department at Beloit College, retired in June, 1947, after a tenure of forty-six years. Louis Taylor Merrill, who has been on the staff since 1938, succeeds Professor Richardson as head of the department.

In the University of New Mexico, Josiah C. Russell has been made head of the department of history, Frank D. Reeve has been promoted to professor of history, and Arnold H. Price, of the State Department, has been appointed visiting assistant professor of history.

Washington and Lee University has announced the election of William Gleason Bean to a professorship on the Thomas Ball Foundation and the promotions of Ollinger Crenshaw to professor of history and of William A. Jenks to assistant professor of history.

Rosser H. Taylor, formerly of Furman University, has been appointed professor of history and head of the department of social science in Western Carolina Teachers College, Cullowhee, North Carolina.

Edward McClung Fleming, formerly of the City College, New York, has accepted appointment as dean and professor of history in Park College, Parkville, Missouri.

W. S. Tryon has been appointed professor of history in Boston University.

Marvin W. Schlegel has resigned as assistant state historian for the Pennsylvania Historical and Museum Commission to become chairman of the department of history and government at St. Helena Extension, College of William and Mary, Norfolk, Virginia.

F. Garvin Davenport, head of the history and political science department at Transylvania College for the past eleven years, has resigned to accept a position as head of the same department in Monmouth College, Illinois.

Edwin J. Urch has accepted an appointment as professor of history and head of the department of history and political science at Defiance College, Defiance, Ohio.

John Clinton Adams has been promoted to professor of history at Dartmouth College and Richard Blaine McCornack has been appointed instructor in history in the same institution.

The George Washington University announces the promotion of Howard Maxwell Merriman to professor of American diplomatic history and the appointment of Roderic Hollett Davison, formerly of Princeton University, as assistant professor of European history.

Samuel C. McCulloch, formerly of the University of Michigan, has joined the staff of the department of history at Rutgers University.

Alexander Marchant has accepted an associate professorship in the newly created Institute of Brazilian Studies at Vanderbilt University.

Winston B. Thorson has been promoted to associate professor of history in the State College of Washington, Pullman.

Robert M. Langdon, formerly of Stanford University, has joined the staff of the department of history of the United States Naval Academy, Annapolis, Maryland.

The historical research section of the Air University, Montgomery, Alabama, announces the appointment of Robert Earl McClendon, formerly of Sam Houston State Teachers College, and Oron Percy South, formerly of the Alabama Polytechnic Institute, to its research staff.

John Richard Alden has been promoted to associate professor of history in the University of Nebraska.

J. Cutler Andrews, formerly a member of the department of history in the Carnegie Institute of Technology, has been appointed associate professor of history in the Pennsylvania College for Women.

Neil A. McNall of the New York State College for Teachers, Albany, has joined the department of history of Pennsylvania State College.

William C. Bark, formerly of the University of Chicago, has accepted an appointment as associate professor of history at Stanford University.

Williams M. Mitchell of Westminster College (Fulton, Missouri) has accepted an appointment as associate professor of history at Washington and Jefferson College. Walter S. Sanderlin, of the political science department at Washington and Jefferson College, has been appointed assistant professor of history at the same institution.

Clara G. Roe has been appointed associate professor of history at the University of Akron.

Lynn W. Turner, formerly of Monmouth College, is now executive director of the Indiana War History Commission and assistant professor of history in Indiana University.

Waldo E. L. Smith has been appointed assistant professor in Queen's University, Kingston, Ontario, with special responsibility for the courses in medieval and Renaissance history.

J. Walter Graham, formerly assistant professor of classical languages and archaeology in the University of Missouri, is now assistant professor in the department of art and archaeology in the University of Toronto and keeper of the classical collection of the Royal Ontario Museum.

New York University announces the promotion of John E. Fagg, Edwin G. Olson, Joseph Reither, and Minna R. Falk to assistant professors of history.

Wayne S. Vucinich has been appointed assistant professor in history at Stanford University.

Thomas H. Greer, formerly chief of the historical studies branch of the air historical office (headquarters, AAF) has been appointed assistant professor of history at Michigan State College.

George B. Engberg, formerly of the University of Minnesota, has been appointed assistant professor of history in the University of Cincinnati.

Chester A. Bain, formerly of New York University, has gone to Idaho State College as instructor in history.

The department of history of the University of Maryland announces the appointment of the following to instructorships in American history: James L. Bates, E. James Ferguson, Crawford Sensenig, David S. Sparks, and Irvin G. Wyllie.

John B. MacInnes has been appointed instructor in history at Wheaton College, Norton, Massachusetts.

#### RECENT DEATHS

The death of Evarts Boutell Greene, June 24, closed a long and distinguished career as teacher and contributor to the history of colonial America. To everyone who knew him, either during his residence at the University of Illinois, or his later years in Columbia University, or through his services to the American Historical Association, his death brings a poignant sense of personal loss. He was one of God's noblemen, the embodiment of what we mean when we say "a scholar and a gentleman."

Evarts Greene was born in Japan seventy-seven years ago, the son of Daniel Crosby Greene, a distinguished and well-loved missionary from 1869 to his death in 1913 in Tokyo. The son Evarts was the first of four distinguished sons to return to America to complete his education. After three years in Northwestern University he transferred to Harvard University, where he graduated in 1890, and where, three years later, he received his doctor's degree, followed by a year's fellowship spent in study in Germany. His first and longest association, from 1894 to 1923, was with the University of Illinois where, as a professor and head of the department and as dean of the arts college, he helped build that institution up to front rank among state universities. That was especially true of the department of history. But academic administration in a dean's office was distasteful to him. A professorship in Columbia University, however sharp the change, offered a chance to devote himself more completely to teaching and to his own research. From 1923 to his retirement in 1939, from 1926 as DeWitt Clinton professor, he added distinction and gave faithful service to the department on Morningside Heights. For his civic and scholarly services to the Historical Library Centennial Commission in Illinois, he substituted services to similar groups in New York City. In addition to this, he had, during close to a score of years, served on almost every committee and held nearly every honorary office in the American Historical As-

sociation closing with the presidency in 1930. Membership in learned societies and honorary degrees were his in full measure.

As a writer and editor of documents, Professor Greene's work was marked by painstaking care at every point rather than by facile writing or bold generalizations. The caution of the scholar reinforced the innate restraint of the man. His first published work, *The Provincial Governor in the English Colonies of North America* (1898), was a model of its kind. His volume in "The American Nation" series was on *Provincial America* (1905). To the Fox-Schlesinger series on the "History of American Life," he contributed the volume, *The Revolutionary Generation, 1763-1790* (1943). Other useful volumes were a college text on the colonial period and, with R. B. Morris, *A Guide to the Sources for Early American History in New York City*. One should add the title that would be perhaps his own favorite, *Religion and the State in America* (1941), and also the tribute to his father in *A New Englander in Japan* (1927). A congenial home was always his through the devotion of his sisters, for Professor Greene never married. He died at Croton-on-the-Hudson, New York, where the gentle and somewhat absent-minded professor had made his place in the community, and it pleased him that his last honor was to be elected to the local Rotary Club.

Nellie Neilson, professor emeritus of history at Mt. Holyoke College, died at her home in South Hadley on May 26 after an illness of two months. Miss Neilson was born in Philadelphia on April 5, 1873. She was a graduate of Bryn Mawr where she took her B.A. in 1893, her M.A. in 1894, and her doctorate in 1899 under the guidance of the late Professor Charles M. Andrews. During these years she held a fellowship in history from 1894-95 and a fellowship from the Association of University Women (the Collegiate Alumnae) in 1895-96. She studied in England, a year at Cambridge with Professor Frederick William Maitland and two years at Oxford with Sir Paul Vinogradoff. She was a reader in English at Bryn Mawr from 1900 to 1902, when she came to Mt. Holyoke as instructor in history. In 1905 she became chairman of the department of history and political science, a position which she held until her retirement in 1939.

Miss Neilson's publications include *Economic Conditions on the Manors of Ramsey Abbey* (1899); *Customary Rents* in "Oxford Studies in Social and Legal History" (1910); *A Terrier of Fleet, Lincolnshire* (1920), and *The Cartulary . . . of Bilsington, Kent* for the "British Academy Records of the Social and Economic History of England and Wales"; "Domesday Monarchorum" and "Domesday Survey of Kent" in the *Victoria County History of Kent* (1927); *The Year Books of 10 Edward IV*, edited for the Selden Society in 1931; *Medieval Agrarian Economy* in the "Berkshire Studies in European History" (1936); "Medieval Agrarian Society in Its Prime: England" in *The Cambridge Economic History of Europe* (1941); "Royal Forests" and "The Court of Common Pleas" in *The English Government at Work, 1327-1336*, published by the Mediaeval Academy (1940 and

1947). At the time of her death she had completed an edition of *The Stoneleigh Leger Book* to be published for the Dugdale Society by the Oxford University Press.

Miss Neilson wrote scholarly papers and book reviews almost continuously from 1897 to 1947. Over forty articles and reviews have appeared in the *American Historical Review* and others in periodicals such as the *Harvard Law Review*, *Toronto Law Journal*, *American Economic Review*, *Economic History Review*, *Speculum*, and *History*. She was an active member of the American Historical Association, serving on the Council and on the Board of Editors of the *Review*. In 1941 she was elected second vice-president, and in 1943 she succeeded Professor Arthur Schlesinger as president, the first woman to hold this office. She was also active in the Mediaeval Academy, serving on the advisory board of *Speculum* and as vice-president. The first woman to be a fellow of the Academy, she was serving as president of the fellows at the time of her death. In England, where she had spent many summers and leaves-of-absence, she was a fellow of the Royal Historical Society, a member of the Selden Society, of the Institute of Historical Research, and of the Place-Name Society. In 1938 Smith College awarded Miss Neilson the honorary degree of L.H.D., and two years later she received the degree of Litt.D. from Russell Sage College.

Of the thousands of Mt. Holyoke students who studied with Miss Neilson, a very large number took advanced degrees in various fields of history. Wherever they are today, they and all who knew her will remember and honor Miss Neilson, not only for her distinguished mind but also for her unwavering devotion to the highest standards of scholarly work. What Miss Neilson's sensitive conscience told her was her duty she did at any cost and nothing could deter her. She was a rare combination of intelligence, character, and personal charm. Her name will be preserved at Mt. Holyoke by the fund, set up in her name when she retired, to be devoted to the purchase of books on English history.

Albert Shaw became a member of the American Historical Association February 5, 1885. His death, June 25, at the age of eighty-nine, strikes from the rolls the earliest elected member. As a student in Grinnell College, he had the rare privilege of coming in contact with Jesse Macy whose original mind and sturdy independence entitles him to be called a founder, if not the founder, of political science as we know it in the colleges of the United States. From Grinnell, Shaw went to the Johns Hopkins University in its days of undisputed leadership. Under Richard T. Ely he studied a communistic settlement in Iowa and published *Icaria: A Chapter in the History of Communism* (1884). For six years he was editor of the *Minneapolis Tribune*. In 1890 he turned from a possible professorship in government in Cornell University to the career that made him a recorder of current history month by month, the editorship of the *American Review of Reviews*. For forty-six years his name and that of this important impartial chronicle were



synonymous. The *Review of Reviews* was a periodical of great significance in its day and of great usefulness to the historian of the period. It set a high standard of fairness and of unemotional rationality. Its strength ebbed away slowly as the age changed and it ended when the *Review* and the tottering *Literary Digest* staggered into each other's arms and over the brink. Dr. Shaw wrote many studies and received many honors; but his monument and his memorial are the American *Review of Reviews* at the turn of the century.

Emily Hickman, professor of history in the New Jersey College for Women, was drowned June 12 when the car she was driving failed to make a turn and plunged into a reservoir near Somers, New York. Dr. Hickman was born July 12, 1880, and received both her bachelor's and her doctor's degree from Cornell University. Following the completion of her graduate work she went to Wells College as professor of history from 1911 to 1927, when she joined the staff of the New Jersey College for Women. Last spring she received the \$1,000 Avon award for the Woman of Achievement of 1946, and on the Sunday preceding her death she had been awarded the degree of Doctor of Humane Letters by Russell Sage College. Dr. Hickman was on the State Department public liaison staff at the 1945 United Nations conference in San Francisco. She was a working member of many civic and cultural organizations and an indefatigable and popular lecturer on public questions, for the last two years chiefly in advocacy and explanation of the United Nations. She was a contributor to the *Dictionary of American Biography* and to scholarly periodicals. Dr. Hickman had been a member of the American Historical Association since May 26, 1904.

The Right Reverend Monsignor Peter Guilday died July 31 after a protracted illness. He stood easily in the first rank of Catholic historians in America and his reputation was international. The friends and admirers of Msgr. Guilday were legion and there were no sectarian lines when they spoke of him either as a lovable character or the distinguished author of some ten volumes or monographs bearing on the history of his church in America. Several of them were biographies of leading Catholic churchmen, and at the time of his death he was working on the life of Bishop Hughes. He was sixty-three years old March 25, 1947. For the last thirty-three years he had been a member of the history department of the Catholic University of America, since 1923 as professor of American church history. One of the most enduring monuments that he leaves is the Catholic Historical Association, initiated by him in 1919 at the Cleveland meeting of the American Historical Association. The plans of Dr. Guilday and his associates owed much of their initial success to the sympathetic interest and advice of Professor J. Franklin Jameson. The second monument is the *Catholic Historical Review* of which he was the founder and first editor. Many are the stories that will be told of his wit and learning and unconventional speech and spirit. They are the lighter side that should not be lost when the time comes to appraise the teacher and the scholar.

Harley Farnsworth MacNair, professor of Far Eastern history and institutions at the University of Chicago, died at his home on June 22, 1947. Before joining the faculty of this university in 1928, he had taught for sixteen years at St. John's University, Shanghai, and more briefly at the University of Redlands, where he also had done his undergraduate work, and at the University of Washington. From his long residence in China, supplemented by extended visits to the Far East during the 1930's, came his wide and deep knowledge and sympathetic appreciation of Chinese life and culture. These he shared with his devoted graduate students both in his classroom and in his home. His numerous articles and books, of which his *Far Eastern International Relations* (with Hosea B. Morse, Shanghai, 1928, New York, 1931) and *China* (in "The United Nations Series," Berkeley, 1945) are perhaps the best known, treat of China's domestic history and especially of her international relations during the last two hundred years. He was one of the earliest Western authorities on the history of China to base his published works in considerable degree upon official documents, from which he quoted generously in his writings. His influence as a scholar was the wider because of his membership on the boards of editors of several scholarly periodicals, including the *Far Eastern Quarterly*, and because of his active participation in the work of a half-dozen societies seeking to promote better understanding and closer ties between the Far East and the Western world. During the recent war he was a staff member of the Civil Affairs Training School of the University of Chicago and a consultant to the Far Eastern section of the Office of Strategic Services in Washington. Urged by the State Department to accept much more important assignments, he was obliged to decline because of his poor health. At the time of his death he had nearly completed his portion of a manuscript, with Professor Donald F. Lach of Elmira College as co-author, to be published in the near future as *The Twentieth Century Far East*.

Matthew Page Andrews, well-known writer of popular histories of the United States and of Maryland and Virginia, died in Baltimore, June 20. His last publication, in 1944, was entitled *Social Planning by Frontier Thinkers*. He was born in 1879 and educated at Washington and Lee University. He had lived most of his life in Baltimore.

Word has come belatedly to the *Review* of the death on January 23, 1944, of Mr. Henry E. Scott, the last survivor of the group that formed the American Historical Association at Saratoga in 1884. The minutes of that meeting list him as from Harvard University, presumably a graduate student. Mr. Scott was later a teacher in the Medford, Massachusetts, High School. Medford was his home thereafter until his death.

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MEMBERSHIP, DECEMBER, 1946: 4227. Persons interested in historical studies, whether professionally or otherwise, are invited to membership.

MEETINGS: An annual meeting with a three-day program is held in the last days of each year. Election of officers is by ballot of the membership.

The Association maintains close relations with the state and local historical societies through conferences at the annual meetings. The Pacific Coast Branch holds meetings in December on the Pacific Coast.

PUBLICATIONS: In addition to the *Annual Report*, the Association publishes from time to time out of special funds important documentary collections in American political and legal history. Its official organ is the *American Historical Review*, published quarterly and sent to all members. It appoints a proportion of the members of the board of editors of *Social Education*, a journal on the social studies for secondary-school teachers.

PRIZES: The *Albert J. Beveridge Memorial Fellowship*, awarded annually for the best manuscript in the history of the Western Hemisphere, has a cash value of \$1,000 and assurance of publication. Address inquiries to Professor Arthur P. Whitaker, University of Pennsylvania, Philadelphia 4, Pa.

The *James Hazen Hyde Prize* of \$1,000 will be awarded in 1948 for the best study on any phase of Franco-American relations or French political history in the nineteenth century.

The *Watumull Prize* of \$500, awarded triennially for a work on the history of India originally published in the United States (next award: December, 1948).

The *George Louis Beer Prize* of about \$200, awarded annually for a work upon any phase of European international history since 1895.

The *Herbert Baxter Adams Prize*, awarded in the even-numbered years for a work in the field of European history.

DUES: There is no initiation fee. Annual dues are \$5.00. Life membership is \$100. All members receive the *American Historical Review* and the program of the annual meeting.

CORRESPONDENCE: Inquiries should be addressed to the Executive Secretary at the Library of Congress Annex, Study Room 274, Washington 25, D. C.

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